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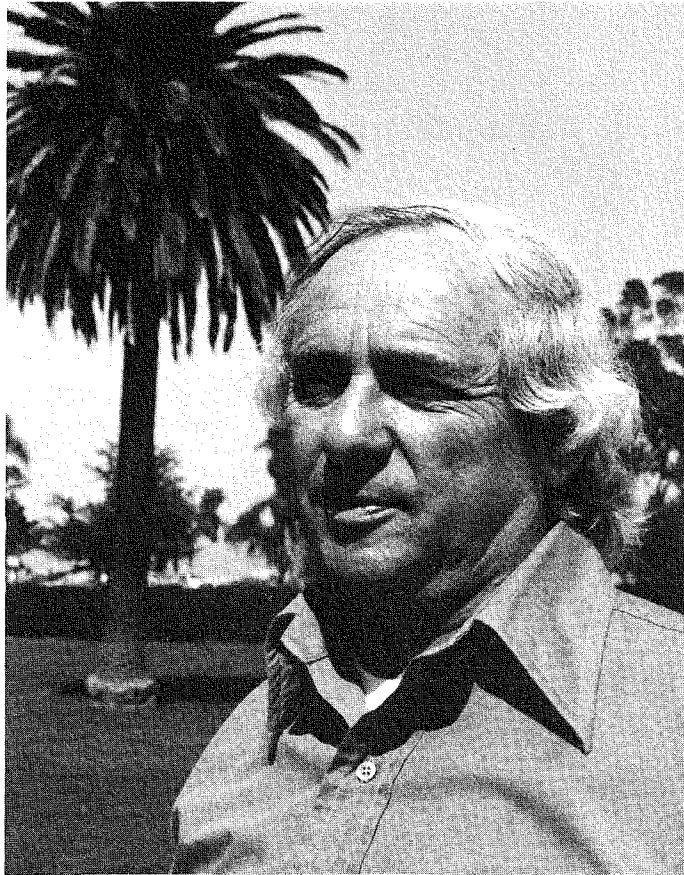
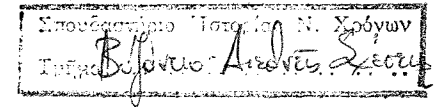
**DAVID JACOBY**  
Société et démographie à Byzance et en Romanie latine

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Byzantium and the Franks  
1350-1420

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George T. Dennis



*Diann Richardson*

Professor George T. Dennis, S.J.

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## PREFACE

The final decades of the fourteenth century and the first of the fifteenth form the last period of Byzantine history to have received serious scholarly attention. The reasons are understandable. It was an era of rapid, unsettling Turkish conquests in the Balkans and of devastating Mongol invasions further East. A seemingly endless series of petty rulers, emperors, despots, dukes, barons, emirs, in East and West, devoted most of their energies to fighting one another. The Byzantine church was split into factions, and in the West there were two, and then three, popes. It was a time of insecurity and upheaval. This state of affairs is reflected in the historical sources for the period. They are widely scattered, confused, and incomplete. It is in this period that the millennial tradition of Byzantine historical writing was broken; for the years from about 1360 to 1420 there are no reliable narrative sources.

In the middle of the nineteenth century Karl Hopf engaged in extensive archival research. In addition to publishing some of the original sources, he compiled the first synthetic study of the late Byzantine period in his *Geschichte Griechenlands* (1867-68). While it contains a wealth of material, it is tortuous reading, and much of it is inaccurate. Nonetheless, historians depended largely on Hopf's work in dealing with the period from 1350 to 1420.

In the 1930's Fr. Raymond J. Loenertz, O.P., from Luxembourg began his thorough, meticulous investigations of this period, beginning with the Dominican foundations in the Latin states in the Levant, and then moving on to persons and events in the Byzantine empire. He started by correcting many of Hopf's errors, and this often led him to new and broader areas of study. Apart from major works, such as his edition of Cydones's letters, a selection of his articles fills two volumes: *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca* (Rome 1970-78). Fr. Loenertz's painstaking analysis of the sources and his system of compiling *régestes* brought precision and accuracy to the study of this period.

Subsequent scholars have been able to build upon his foundations and, in many cases, to employ his special methodology with profit. I would like to believe that my own writings, including those reproduced here, two of which have not previously been published, give some evidence of belonging to that tradition of scholarship.

Research and writing about the period from 1350 to 1420 have greatly increased in the past twenty years. One immediately thinks of D. Nicol, A. Luttrell, J. Barker, G. Fedalto, J. Chrysostomides, and others. This preface, though, is not meant to be a bibliographical essay, but must limit itself to works that have some bearing on the articles here reproduced.

In article II (1967) I made use of two texts to suggest that John VII Palaeologus had a son, Andronicus, who would have been born about 1400-1401 and have died seven years later. This was tentatively accepted by H. Hunger (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 60 [1967], 413), by N. Oikonomides in *Thesaurismata*, 5 (1968), 29-31, and by E. Zachariadou in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 31 (1977), 339-42. Finally, Oikonomides provided graphic confirmation of the brief existence of little Andronicus in his masterful study of the ivory pyxis at Dumbarton Oaks. (*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 31 [1977], 329-37). The faint letters which I thought might indicate the name of Gabriel were actually photographic illusions and prove nothing.

The *Tome of 1409* and other materials cited in articles IV and IX have since been published by V. Laurent in *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, 30 (1972), 5-166. The related letters discussed in article VII (1966) have also been published: G. Dennis, *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus. Text, Translation, and Notes* (*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, 8; Washington, 1977).

Article V concluded that Thessalonica was taken by the Turks in 1387, liberated in 1402/03, and again captured in 1430, and that there was not, as some had believed, a second capture of the city in the 1390's. A. Bakalopoulos strongly disagreed: "Zur Frage der zweiten Einnahme Thessalonikis durch die Türken", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 61 (1968), 285-90. In any event, the recent publication of the previously unknown historical discourse of Symeon of Thessalonica makes it very clear, as scholars have noted in their reviews, that there was no second Turkish capture of the

city in the 1390's: David Balfour, *Politico-historical Works of Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonica (1416/17 to 1429)* (Vienna, 1979).

Article VI (1967) studies the Byzantine-Turkish treaty of 1403. In my summary I identified the "son of Lazar" (p.81) as the Serbian prince Stefan Lazarevitch. That was a guess, a good one, but perhaps not good enough, for the text gives no name or title. In a forthcoming article ("Notes on Rhodes, Timur and the Turks: 1402-1403") A. Luttrell suggests, probably rightly, that the son of Lazar mentioned in the treaty was not Stefan, but his brother Vuk.

In describing a document of Manuel II in article VIII (1968) I suggested that to the right of the image of Christ was a combination of the letters ΦΡ. V. Laurent has pointed out that it was more probably one of ΓδΦ: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 62 (1969), 142.

Article XV (1960) presents a chronological note placing the Navarrese capture of Thebes on 6 March 1378. K. Setton maintained that the notice was wrong, and that the Navarrese took the city in the spring of 1379: *The Cambridge Medieval History*. IV. *The Byzantine Empire*. I. *Byzantium and Its Neighbours*, ed. J. Hussey (Cambridge, 1966), 420, n. 1. His arguments make sense, and I suspect he is correct. The short chronicles and notices edited in articles I and XV are reprinted by Peter Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken* (*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, 12/1; Vienna, 1975), no. 30, p. 218-21; no. 47, p. 343-46.

GEORGE T. DENNIS, S.J.

Washington, D.C.,  
July 1981

## THE SHORT CHRONICLE OF LESBOS

1355 - 1428

Of the Italian families who settled in the Levant during the late middle ages one of the most prominent and powerful was the Gattilusio family of Genoa. The career of Francesco Gattilusio, the founder of the dynasty, began as did that of many another Ligurian noble, by practicing the ancient trade of piracy. His descendants, although never fully renouncing that profitable pastime, became heirs to the respected and wealthy lordship of Mytilene (Lesbos) and eventually extended their rule over the islands of the Northern Aegean, Samothrace, Thasos, Lemnos and Imbros, as well as over the territory of Ainos on the Thracian mainland and Old Phocaea (Foglia Vecchia) on the coast of Asia Minor; their daughters were sought in marriage by emperors, and their warships were feared by Egyptians and Syrians. For a little over a century they ruled their Greek possessions and then disappeared, leaving behind only ruins of castles, a few inscriptions and some scattered documents.

The story of the Gattilusio family of Lesbos has been well told by the historian of the Latin Levant, William Miller, half a century ago, and even today, there is little to add to what he then wrote<sup>1</sup>). A few facts, however, can be established with greater precision, and a little more light can be shed on their history, particularly in view of two sources which were unavailable to Miller: the full text of the anonymous short chronicle entitled «About Mytilene», which is presented below, and the

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1) W. Miller, «The Gattilusij of Lesbos (1355-1462)», in *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921), 313-353: this originally appeared in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 22 (1913), 406-447. — In the preparation of this article the author was assisted by a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies and hereby wishes to express his gratitude.

letters of Demetrius Cydones<sup>2</sup>).

The short chronicle is found in a manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris: suppl. gr. 685, fol. 12-12 v. In 1909 S. Lampros edited fol. 12, but apparently neglected to turn the page and publish the rest of the chronicle which is continued on fol. 12 v<sup>3</sup>). Although the second page does not furnish any significantly new information about the Gattilusio family, still, it seems well that the complete text be made available.

The manuscript containing the chronicle is a small one of twenty-four pages on paper in hands varying from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries; fol. 7-14 v are by the same hand, which Lampros places in the sixteenth century<sup>4</sup>). The chronicle about Mytilene, located between a brief world chronicle (fol. 9-11 v) and a profession of faith of Pope Damasus (fol. 12 v), is written in a clear, legible hand with the first letter of the title and of the chronicle itself in red. The original text (for the present manuscript is almost certainly a later copy) would seem to have been composed on Lesbos not long after 1409, the date of the last entry, and before 1428, the year in which Jacopo Gattilusio died. Despite some errors and inaccuracies, probably due in large part to the copyist, the chronicle is generally reliable and is confirmed by other sources, for example, the account of the earthquake in 1384 is strikingly similar to that found in the contemporary letter of Cydones.

Since the present edition is intended to be useful to historians, we will first present the text, divided into paragraphs and dated. The spelling has been normalized, and the very few variations in the manuscript or in the edition of Lampros (L.) are indicated in the apparatus. Words or letters within < > have been supplied by the editor; those within [ ], although found in the manuscript, should be deleted. The text will then be followed

2) Démétrius Cydonès Correspondance, ed. R. J. Loenertz, 2 vols. (Vatican City, 1956, 1960: = Studi e Testi, 186, 208).

3) S. Lampros, «Συμβολή εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν ἐν Λέσβῳ δυναστευόντων Γατελούζων», Νέος Ἑλληνομνημων, 6 (1909), 39-48; text: 39-40. Also cf. his «Συμπληρώματα περὶ τῶν Γατελούζων», Ibid., 488-492; «Νέαι συμβολαὶ περὶ τῶν Γατελούζων», Ibid., 7 (1910), 341-344.

4) For a list of the items in this miscellaneous codex, cf. H. Omont, Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale, III (Paris, 1888), p. 299.

by a translation and commentary; the latter is restricted chiefly to the chronicle itself, and by no means attempts to narrate the complete history of the Gattilusio dynasty.

## TEXT

Cod. Paris. suppl. gr. 685, fol. 12-12 v.

### ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΜΥΤΙΛΗΝΗΣ

#### 1. 17 julii 1355 — 6 augusti 1384

Ἐκυρίευσεν <τὴν> Μυτιλήνην Φραντζέσκος ὁ πρῶτος Γατελιούζος αὐθέντης, ὁ καὶ ἐπ' ἀδελφῇ γαμβρὸς τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων κύρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου, ἔτη κθ' ἡμέρας κ'. ἤρ-  
5 ξατο δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς αὐθεντείας αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ ᾿Ωξβ' ἔτος ἀπὸ κτί-  
σεως κόσμου, Ἰουλίου ιζ', ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ ,ατνε'.

#### 2. 6 augusti 1384

Καὶ ἀπεκτάνθη ὑπὸ τοῦ γεγονότος σειсмоῦ κατὰ τὴν Σ' τοῦ  
Αὐγούστου ἐν ἔτει ᾿Ωξα', ἔτους ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου, ἀπὸ δὲ Χρι-  
στοῦ καταβάσεως ,ατπδ', συγχωσθεῖς ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῇ παρ' αὐ-  
10 τοῦ κτισθείσῃ εἰς ὕψος μέγα καὶ κάλλος <ἀ>παράμιλλον. πολλὰ  
δὲ μογήσαντες εὗρον τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ συντετριμμένον ὑπὸ τῶν πε-  
τρῶν. καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ κτισθέντι ναῷ ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ  
ἀγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ, ἐν λάρνακι ποιηθέντι παρ' αὐτοῦ.  
συνετάφησαν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ δύο υἱοὶ ἐκείνου, συντριβέντες καὶ αὐτοὶ  
15 ὑπὸ τοῦ σειсмоῦ. ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἦν Ἀνδρόνικος, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος  
Δομένικος.

1. 1. Μυτιλήνη ubique in cod.; quamplures itacismos tacite cor-  
rexī. 2. ὁ Μυτιλήνης L: in cod. ante Μυτιλήνην invenitur  
littera «ο», colore rubro scripta, sine spiritu et, ut mihi  
videtur, forma inchoata litterae Φ.

## 3. Eadem die

Ἦν δὲ καὶ τρίτος υἱὸς ἐκείνου ὀνόματι Ἰάκωβος, ὃς μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐκλήθη Φραντζέσκος. καὶ ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς κοιμώμενος μετὰ τῶν ῥηθέντων δύο ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐνὶ πύργῳ, καὶ θεῖα δυνάμει διεφυλάχθη ἀπὸ τοῦ σεισμοῦ ἀβλαβής, ἀρπαγείς, ὡς ἔλεγον, ἀπὸ τῶν τριχῶν καὶ ῥιφθεὶς εἰς τὸ μέρος τῶν ἀνεμομύλων, πλησίον οἰκήματος ἀνθρώπου καλουμένου Κουνέτου, καὶ εὔρεθεις παρὰ τῆς συνοίκου αὐτοῦ Καληδονέας. ἐδήλωσε δὲ τοῦτο τοῖς ἀρχουσιν, οἵτινες δραμόντες ἔφερον αὐτὸν ἐπωμάδιον ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ Ζωάννου Γαμπέρνια.

## 4. 6 augusti 1384 — 26 octobris 1403/1404

Καὶ δούς ὄρκον προκειμένου τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου τῷ λαῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχουσιν ἐπελάβετο τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἔχων κοινωνὸν καὶ συλλήπτορα τὸν πρὸς πατρός αὐτοῦ θεῖον, Νικορέζον Γατελιούζον, αὐθέντην Αἴνου. [ἐκσοριομένου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Φραντζέσκου καὶ] μαθὼν <γάρ> ἐκεῖσε τὸν ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ γεγονότα θάνατον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐν τάχει τὴν Μυτιλήνην κατέλαβεν. ὃς ἦν συνάρχων τῷ ἀνεψιῷ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ χρόνοις τισί. σκανδάλου δὲ συμβάντος μέσον αὐτῶν ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Αἴνον, ὅπου καὶ πρῶτον ἦν. ὁ δ' ἀνεψιὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ μετονομασθεὶς Φραντζέσκος, ἐκυρίευσεν τὴν Μυτιλήνην ἔτη τὰ ὀκτώ κ', καὶ ἀπέθανεν Ὀκτωβρίῳ κς' ἐν ἔτει Σφρια'.

## 5. 26 octobris 1403/1404 — 1408/1409

Καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν αὐθεντεύει ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰάκωβος, καὶ πάλιν ἦλθεν ὁ τῆς Αἴνου, ὁ προρρηθεὶς Νικορέζος, καὶ ἔλαβεν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀνηβος γὰρ ὢν ὁ αὐθέντης ἔτι. καὶ ἦν οὗτος κυβερνήτης αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς αὐθεντείας αὐτοῦ ἔτη ε'.

## 6. 1408/1409

40 Ἐφηβος δὲ γενόμενος καὶ σύνοικον λαβὼν + τοιμάδα + θυγα-

4. 29. Quod inter [] posui sic datur in cod. et L. Forsitan ἐκσοριομένου pro ἐνσωριασμένου, «in sepulchro posito». Alia autem lectio suggeritur a F. W. Hasluck, Annual of the British School at Athens, 15 (1908), 269: Νικορέζον... ἐξωρισμένον <ὑπὸ> τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Φραντζέσκου καὶ μαθῶν.. 32. τισι cod.: τρισὶ L.

τέρα τοῦ αὐθέντου Νικαίας Μασσαλιωτῶν ὀνόματι μαδόνα Ἐμπονα, ὠραιότατην—καλὴν γὰρ ἐλληνικῶς λέγουσι τὴν Ἐμπονα—ἐπελάβετο fol. 12 v [δὲ] καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς // καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς αὐθεντείας. ὁ <δὲ> ῥηθεὶς Νικορέζος [καὶ] ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Αἴνον, εἰς τὴν 45 αὐθεντεῖαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ δραμῶν ὀλίγος καιρὸς καὶ νοσήσας τέθνηκεν.

## 7. 1408/1409 — 1428

Ἀφῆκε δὲ διάδοχον καὶ κληρονόμον τῆς αὐθεντείας αὐτοῦ τὸν τρίτον ἀδελφὸν καὶ ὕστατον, τὸν αὐθέντην Ἰάκωβον. τρεῖς γὰρ ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν· ὁ πρῶτος Ἰάκωβος, αὐθέντης τῆς Μυτιλήνης, ὁ δευτέρως αὐθέντης Παλαιᾶς Φωκαίας Δωρῖνος, καὶ ὁ τρίτος ὁ Παλα- 50 μήδης, ὃν ἀφῆκε ἐν διαθήκῃ ὁ παπποὺς αὐτῶν αὐθέντην Αἴνου. καὶ ἦν ἐτῶν κ' ὅτε ἐγένετο αὐθέντης Αἴνου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἤρχετο ἐκεῖσε <τῶν> πραγμάτων τῆς αὐθεντείας.

6. 40. + τοιμάδα + cod., forsitan pro τὴν μαδόνα <τὴν>.

7. 47. Ἰάκωβον cod.: lege Παλαμήδη.

## TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

## 1. 17 July 1355 — 6 August 1384

Francesco I Gattilusio, who was also the brother-in-law of the great Emperor of the Romans, Lord John Palaeologus, ruled as Lord over Mytilene for twenty-nine years and twenty days. His rule over his domain began in the year 6862, dating from the creation of the world, on the seventeenth of July, and dating from Christ, the year 1355.

In these few words the chronicler sums up the first three decades of the Gattilusio domination in the Northern Aegean. The story of their establishment in Mytilene was apparently well known, since it is found in several sources, both Greek and Latin<sup>5</sup>). In the summer or fall of 1354 the Genoese adventurer, Francesco Gattilusio, put in at the island of Tenedos, then the temporary headquarters of John V Palaeologus, fighting to regain the Byzantine throne from his father-in-law, John VI Cantacuzenus. Gattilusio and John V soon came to an understanding: in return for assisting him to recover his throne, the Genoese would receive the hand of John's sister, Maria, with the island of Lesbos as her dowry<sup>6</sup>). Both carried out their part of the

5) In general, cf. Miller, *op. cit.*, 313—315. The chief Greek sources are: Ducas, *Istoria Turco-Bizantina*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), XI, 3—XII, 5; pp. 67—73: *Duca Michaelis Ducae nepotis historia Byzantina*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1834); *Laonici Chalcocandylae, Historiarum demonstrationes*, ed. E. Darkó, 2 vols. (Budapest, 1922—1927), II, Lib. X, pp. 268—269; *Critobuli Imbriotae, libri quinque de rebus gestis Mechemetis*, ed. C. Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, V (Paris, 1883), Lib. II, c. 13, pp. 52—161; Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, ed. L. Schopen and I. Bekker, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1829—1855), Lib. 37, c. 46: III, p. 554. The chief Western sources are: Giorgio Stella, *Annales Genuenses*, ed. L. A. Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, 18 (Milan, 1730), 1094a; Matthaei Villani, *Historia*. *Ibid.*, 14 (Milan, 1729), 447; *The Commentaries of Pius II*, transl. with notes by F. A. Gragg and L. C. Gabel (Northampton, Mass., 1957), Lib. X, p. 637; S. Servion, *Geste et chroniques de la Mayson de Savoye* (Turin, 1879), II, 138—143.

6) Ducas, p. 73 (ed. Grecu): p. 46 (ed. Bonn).

agreement. With the aid of Francesco, John V entered Constantinople on the night of 22 November 1354 and forced Cantacuzenus to agree to share the throne with him<sup>7</sup>). Within the next week or so both emperors presided over a deliberation about the policy to be followed regarding the Turks; the war party, which may have included Francesco, won the day<sup>8</sup>). On 10 December, Cantacuzenus, who had been opposed to risking war with the Turks, abdicated and took the monastic habit. Within the next few months Francesco Gattilusio and Maria Palaeologina were married in Constantinople and then sailed to Lesbos where, as the present chronicle informs us, Francesco formally began his rule over the island on 17 July 1355.

The chronicler gives the date: 6862 *anno mundi*, which actually corresponds to A.D. 1354, but he also put down the A.D. date as 1355, which harmonizes better with the other sources and with the notice of the length of Francesco's reign. Furthermore, it must be noted that the chronicler seems to be consistently a year wrong in his other *anno mundi* dates<sup>9</sup>).

The chief features of Francesco's twenty-nine year rule on Lesbos are well known, and it does not seem necessary to repeat them here<sup>10</sup>). Respected by both Greeks and Latins, his reign was regarded as a period of great prosperity for the island. His foreign policy was consistent: while unequivocally preserving his own independence, he maintained a close alliance with Byzantium, particularly against the Turks. He provided substantial military assistance to John V and was also instrumental in encouraging him to enter upon unionistic negotiations with Rome, culminating in John's journey there and his profession of the

7) *Ioannis Cantacuzeni imperatoris historiarum libri IV*, ed. L. Schopen, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1828—1832), Lib. IV, c. 39: III, p. 284; Nicephorus Gregoras, *op. cit.*, Lib. 29, c. 27: III, pp. 241—242; S. Lampros, *Νέος Έλληνομνημων*, 14 (1917), 403.

8) Cantacuzenus, *op. cit.*, Lib. IV, c. 40: III, pp. 294—300.

9) Lampros was aware of this chronological problem and suggested that the Greeks on Lesbos under Western rulers came to use the Latin style of dating more regularly: «Συμβολή εις την ιστοριαν των εν Λέσβω δυναστευόντων Γατελούζων», *Νέος Έλληνομνημων*, 6 (1910), 43—44.

10) Cf. Miller, *op. cit.*, Also the older work of I. N. Deles, *Οί Γατελούζοι εν Λέσβω 1355—1462* (Athens, 1901).

Roman faith<sup>11</sup>). The Lord of Lesbos was looked upon by the popes as a bulwark against the ever-advancing Ottoman power, although Francesco was not adverse to attacking Christian ships on occasion<sup>12</sup>). At the request of Venice, he was also reprimanded by the Genoese government for counterfeiting Venetian coins<sup>13</sup>).

Sometime about 1373 John V, probably disillusioned by the lack of Western military aid, reversed his anti-Turkish policy and in some form or other recognized Ottoman suzerainty<sup>14</sup>). At about the same time a certain coolness developed in the relations between the Byzantine Emperor and the Lord of Mytilene, for Demetrius Cydones, released from imperial service, was refused permission to visit Lesbos<sup>15</sup>). Undoubtedly, this coolness was the result of their disagreement on Turkish policy, since after Pope Gregory IX learned of the understanding between Byzantium and the Ottoman emir (21 September 1374), he still regarded the ruler of Lesbos as a valiant adversary of the Turks<sup>16</sup>).

11) O. Halecki, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome* (Warsaw, 1930), *passim*.

12) On 27 December 1357 Pope Innocent IV protested to Genoa about Francesco's attacks against the ships of King Hugh of Cyprus: «... Franciscus Gathelusii, concivis vester, piraticam detestandam eciam contra christianos in partibus illis exercens, terras et galeas prefati regis [Hugonis] vexare molitur...»: *Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, Reg. Vat., 240, f. 9.

13) He was admonished by the Genoese government on 8 August 1357: G. Gradenigo, *Della moneta Veneta Imperiale* (Padua, 1869), 18; *I Libri commemoriali della repubblica di Venezia*, II (= *Monumenti storici pubblicati dalla R. deputazione Veneta di storia patria*, ser. I, Documenti, III), ed. R. Predelli (Venice, 1878), no. 253, p. 266; A. Luxoro e G. Pinelli-Gentile, «Documenti riguardanti alcuni dinasti dell' Arcipelago, pubblicati per saggio di studi paleografici», *Giornale Liguistico di archeologia, storia e belle arti*, 1 (1874), doc. 1, p. 84. On Francesco's own coinage, a sign of his independence, cf. G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin* (Paris, 1878), 432–446: the dates there assigned should now be revised.

14) Cf. G. Dennis, *The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382–1387*, (Rome, 1960), 34–35.

15) Demetrius Cydones, letter 117, ed. Loenertz, I, p. 155–157; also ed. with French transl. by G. Cammelli, *Démétrius Cydonès Correspondance* (Paris, 1930), no. 38, pp. 101–104.

16) Halecki, *op. cit.*, 292 ss.

A very close friend of Francesco was Demetrius Cydones, who eventually managed, despite the emperor's displeasure, to find his way to Lesbos at the insistent invitation, so he wrote, of the ruler of the island<sup>17</sup>). In letters written from Lesbos he speaks of Francesco with the greatest esteem, and describes the pleasant life led on the island, particularly the hunting and the good food<sup>18</sup>).

Francesco undoubtedly found himself in a difficult position during the period of conflict within the imperial family, especially after John's oldest son, Andronicus IV, usurped the throne and imprisoned his father in the late summer of 1376. Since Andronicus, however, was strongly supported by the Genoese, to whom he gave the strategic island of Tenedos, it is not unlikely that Francesco, always loyal to his native city, tended, at least indirectly, to favor Andronicus. In any case, it seems that he took advantage of his brief reign (1376–1379) to obtain the city of Ainos on the Thracian mainland for his brother Niccolò<sup>19</sup>). In the summer of 1382 Demetrius Cydones was sent by John V to Lesbos on what he himself described as a very unpleasant mission, which, at least in part, obliged him to discuss the return of Ainos to the Byzantine Empire; the request occasioned some strong outbursts by Francesco, who consented to discuss the matter only because of their old friendship<sup>20</sup>). In any event, Ainos seems to have remained in the possession of the Gattilusi. About the same period, Cydones also recommended to Manuel II a knight from Picardy who had served as a mercenary for Francesco and then for the ruler of Ainos<sup>21</sup>).

17) Demetrius Cydones, letters 132–135, ed. Loenertz, II, pp. 1–5; Also on the relations between the two cf. G. Kolias, «Αἱ σχέσεις Δημητρίου Κυδωνῆ πρὸς Φραγγίσκον Α' Γατελοῦζον, δυνάστην τῆς Λέσβου», *Λεσβιακὸν Ἡμερολόγιον*, (1954), 37–43, although this work was written before the complete edition of Cydones' letters by Loenertz.

18) Cydones, letter 135, ed. Loenertz, II, pp. 4–5; also ed. with French transl. by Cammelli, *op. cit.*, no. 11, pp. 25–27. Other letters of Cydones referring to the Gattilusi are letters 127, 130, 307, 321, (ed. Loenertz).

19) Cydones, letters 202 and 242, ed. Loenertz, II, pp. 78–80, 145–146.

20) *Ibid.*

21) Cydones, letters 231 and 238, ed. Loenertz, II, pp. 127–128, 139–141.

## 2.

6 August 1384

And he was killed by the earthquake which occurred on the sixth of August in the year 6891, dating from the creation of the world, and from the coming of Christ the year 1384. He was buried under the ruins of the citadel which he had had constructed to a great height and incomparable beauty. After much labor they found his body crushed by the stones. He was then buried in the church which he himself had built and dedicated to St. John the Baptist, in a tomb he had ordered made. Also buried with him were two of his sons, crushed by the same earthquake: the first was named Andronicus, and the second Domenico.

Once again the chronicler is a year wrong in reckoning the date from the creation of the world: he wrote 6891, which corresponds to A. D. 1383, but he also gives the correct A. D. date, 1384, which fits in better with the other sources<sup>22</sup>).

The destructive earthquake remained vivid in the memory of the inhabitants of the island. An anonymous chronological notice, which also places it on 6 August 6891 *anno mundi*, depicts it as happening in the early hours of the morning «as a sort of destroying cloud with darkness and hurricane winds coming from Asia to Mytilene, which fell upon the acropolis and completely overthrew it faster than could be stated, crushing to death all who dwelt therein, I mean the rulers and lords of the city except for one». This was followed by a series of quakes, which destroyed a great part of the city and killed many of the inhabitants<sup>23</sup>). An Italian chronicle speaks of the castle towers being shaken as trees by a mighty wind; a second quake hit after midnight when all were asleep and brought down the entire

22) For example, in the testament of Antonio Gattilusio made in Genoa on 27 June 1384, Francesco is still spoken of as the Lord of Mytilene: Luxoro e Pinelli — Gentile, *op. cit.*, doc. 3, pp. 86–87.

23) Chronological notice in *cod. S. Andreae* 88, published by S. Lampros, «'Ενθυμήσεων ἤτοι χρονικῶν σειμειωμάτων συλλογὴ πρώτη», *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 7 (1910), no. 73, pp. 144–145, wrongly dated 1374.

castle causing the death of fifty Genoese including Francesco, «the great warrior and captain of the army»<sup>24</sup>). The sudden death of his close friend was a terrible shock to Demetrius Cydones who, shortly after the disaster, wrote to a mutual friend, Rhadenos, in Thessalonica: «He who loved both you and me above all others, Francesco, is dead together with his sons; he now lies buried under a thick blanket of dust, mud, wood, iron and stones. For a great earthquake has brought down on their heads the towers which he had skillfully erected for the protection of himself and his children». The brides whom Francesco had brought from a great distance, Cydones continues, heard funeral dirges instead of wedding hymns, and before seeing the faces of their future husbands, they looked upon their corpses. Now, he adds, the Turks, Syrians, Phoenicians and Egyptians will be able to breathe a sigh of relief, but Lesbos mourns for the tower of strength which defended it and which has now fallen, and it fears vengeance from those who formerly paid it tribute<sup>25</sup>).

When Clavijo, the Spanish envoy to Tamerlane, visited Mytilene in 1403, he observed some great castles fallen in ruins and was told that some twenty years previously a tremendous earthquake had destroyed the citadel one night killing the ruler (Francesco I), his wife and two of their sons, although the present ruler (Francesco II) had miraculously escaped death<sup>26</sup>).

The citadel, or acropolis, erected by Francesco and which was destroyed by the earthquake was most probably that now in

24) Sagacius et Petrus de Gazata, *Chronicon Regiense*, ed. L. A. Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, 18 (Milan, 1731), 90 d.

25) Cydones, letter 273, ed. Loenertz, II, pp. 190–192; also ed. with French transl. by Cammelli, *op. cit.*, no. 39, pp. 105–107. The remarks about the Gattilusi warships being feared by Syrians and Egyptians may sound like pure rhetoric, but it is interesting to note that more than half a century later Critobulos spoke in almost the same terms of Francesco's reign (although he confuses him with his brother Niccolò): «... even all of Syria and Egypt feared his power and paid him annual tribute. ... his navy had absolute control of the sea as far as Egypt, Syria and Libya; this ruler raided, pillaged and devastated all those regions.»: *Critobuli Imbriotae*, ed. Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, V, Lib. IV, c. 11–14, pp. 144–146.

26) Clavijo, *Embajada a Tamorlán*, ed. Estrada, p. 27. Also cf. Cristoforo Buondelmonti, *Liber insularum Archipelagi*, ed. G. R. L. de Sinner (Leipzig–Berlin, 1824), 115.



ruins, which still contains various slabs bearing the Gattilusi arms. In particular, one blue marble slab is inscribed with a crowned eagle, the Palaeologus monogram, the Gattilusi arms, and a notice stating that on 1 April 1373 Francesco Gattilusi, Lord of Mytilene, had caused it to be built<sup>27</sup>). The Church built and dedicated to St. John the Baptist by Francesco was later served by the Byzantine Dominican, Manuel Calecas, from about 1404 to 1410<sup>28</sup>). The tomb which he had made for himself also seems to be extant: a large grey marble sarcophagus bearing the Gattilusi and the Palaeologus arms<sup>29</sup>).

### 3. The Same Day

There was also a third son named Jacopo, who after the death of his father was called Francesco. He was also sleeping with his two brothers in one of the towers, but by divine power was preserved unharmed from the earthquake. He was snatched up, as they said, by the hair of his head and hurled down in the area by the windmills near the dwelling of a man named Kounetos, whose wife, Kaledonea, found him. She informed the magistrates, who came running and carried him on their shoulders into the house of Giovanni Gambernia.

In reporting the Gattilusi tragedy to Rhadenos, Cydones seemed unaware that anyone had survived the earthquake, but he must soon have learned that the youngest of the three sons was still alive. The present chronicle's account is confirmed by other sources: the anonymous Greek chronological notice, cited above, the *Chronicon Regiense*, and the account of Clavijo. Basically, then, all the reports of the quake and the salvation of the youngest son are in substantial agreement. The Italian chronicle and Clavijo indicate that the youngest son was

27) F. W. Hasluck, «Monuments of the Gattilusi», *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 15 (1908), 248–269, esp. 259–262.

28) R. J. Loenertz, *Correspondance de Manuel Calécas* (Vatican City, 1950: = *Studi e Testi*, 152), 46.

29) Hasluck, *op. cit.*, 264.

but an infant at the time, but, as shall be shown, he must have been considerably older.

### 4. 6 August 1384 – 26 October 1403/1404

After he had sworn an oath on the holy gospel to the people and the magistrates, he began his rule. In this he had the help and assistance of his paternal uncle, Niccolò Gattilusio, Lord of Ainos. On learning of the death and burial of his brother Francesco in the earthquake, Niccolò quickly arrived in Mytilene. There he remained for a few years sharing the rule with his nephew. But when some contention arose between them, he returned to Ainos where he had previously been. His nephew, however, whose name had been changed to Francesco, ruled Mytilene twenty years in all, and died on the twenty-sixth of October in the year 6911.

As mentioned above, Ainos may have come into the possession of the Gattilusi family in the late 1370's; certainly it was a source of dispute with John V Palaeologus and Francesco I about 1382. Exactly when his brother Niccolò became ruler of Ainos is not clear, but he was in power there at the very latest by 27 June 1384<sup>30</sup>).

Apart from family ties and sorrow at his brother's sudden death, other reasons may possibly have motivated Niccolò in sailing to Lesbos: he may have been invited by his nephew or by the magistrates, or he may have wished to establish himself as ruler there. Whatever the case, he did remain there for a few years, not necessarily three years, as Lampros wrote in his edi-

30) In the testament of Antonio Gattilusio of Genoa (cited above, note 22) Niccolò is referred to as Lord of Ainos. Also cf. Cydones, letters 202, 242 (cited in note 19). According to Chalcocandyles *Lib. X*, ed. Darkó, II, p. 269), the Gattilusi were invited to assume power by the inhabitants of Ainos, who were in conflict with the Byzantine authorities. On a tower at the west end of the citadel of Ainos is found a white marble slab with the Gattilusi arms and the date, 1 May 1385: Hasluck, *op. cit.*, 255.

tion of the chronicle, for the manuscript clearly has «a few» (ῥίσι). It had been thought that he acted as regent during those few years for his young nephew, supposedly not yet of age. The idea that Francesco II was a small child at the time of the earthquake seems to come from the accounts of Clavijo and the *Chronicon Regiense*, which refer to him as a small child<sup>31</sup>). The present chronicle, however, says nothing about his age at the time and, since his parents were married in 1354 or 1355, he could have been in his late twenty's in 1384. It seems certain that at the time of the quake he was unmarried, for the present chronicle (paragraph 3) speaks of him as sleeping in a tower with his two older brothers who were not yet married. Cydones mentions that their brides had apparently just recently arrived on Lesbos<sup>32</sup>), although we do not know whether one was intended for the youngest son or not. In any event, in 1384 Jacopo (Francesco II) was certainly old enough to be married, for he had an illegitimate son, Giorgio, who, thirteen years later, in 1397, accompanied a group of French nobles on a mission to France<sup>33</sup>). Francesco II must have married soon after his father's death in 1384, since one of his daughters married the Emperor John VII Palaeologus sometime before 1397, perhaps even as early as 1390, although she could hardly be more than six years old then<sup>34</sup>). Another daughter, apparently named Helena, seems to

31) Clavijo (ed. Estrada, p. 27), speaks of him as being in a cradle: «en una cuna». The *Chronicon Regiense* (loc. cit.) calls him, «filius parvus».

32) Cydones, letter 273, ed. Loenertz, II, pp. 190–192; Cammelli, no. 39, pp. 105–107.

33) J. Delaville-Le Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1886), I, 315, n. 2.

34) Certainly Francesco's daughter must have been married to John VII in or by 1397, for in a document of 15 August of that year, John refers to Francesco II as «patrem imperii nostri»: S. Lampros, «Ἰωάννης Ζ' Παλαιολόγος καὶ Κάρολος Σ'», *Νέος Ἑλληνομυήμων*, 10 (1913), 248–251. Cf. F. Dölger, «Johannes VII., Kaiser der Rhomäer 1390–1408», *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 31 (1931), 21–36, esp. 31. According to R. J. Loenertz, the marriage may have taken place in 1390: «Épître de Manuel II Paléologue aux moines David et Damien, 1416». *Silloge bizantina in onore di S. G. Mercati* (= *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, 9 (1957), 294–304, esp. 296, n. 2. But, cf. J. W. Barker, «John VII in Genoa: a Problem in Late Byzantine Source Confusion», *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 18 (1962), 213–238, esp. 238. There is some dispute regarding her name: Eugenia or Irene. Both are found in the sources, and it

have been of marriageable age in 1403<sup>35</sup>). His son, Jacopo, must have been about fifteen or sixteen years old when he succeeded him in 1403/1404. In general, therefore, Francesco II could not have been an infant in 1384, but must have been at least twenty years of age, if not older.

The cause of the dispute between Francesco II and his uncle Niccolò cannot be determined, but it may well have centered around a struggle for power. Niccolò apparently lost out and returned to Ainos, although the sources do not allow us to fix the date. Demetrius Cydonés, such a close friend of his father, had, at least for a time, some difficulty in getting along with the new ruler<sup>36</sup>). Later, however, good relations between the two were restored, and Cydones was able to recommend friends to the lord of Lesbos<sup>37</sup>). Undoubtedly, part of the problem was Francesco's close relationship with John VII, but perhaps more fundamental was his policy regarding the Turks. Francesco II does not seem to have taken such a consistently strong stand against them as had his father: he was reluctant to receive Manuel II on Lesbos when he was forced to leave Thessalonica about to be taken by the Turks; in fact, Francesco would not even allow the emperor to enter the city of Mytilene<sup>38</sup>). The French nobles captured at Nicopolis regarded him as «a friend of the emir»<sup>39</sup>). In 1396 he had to be prodded into action to aid his

may be that, on marrying John VII, she changed her Italian name, Eugenia, to the more proper Byzantine imperial one of Irene. The name of Francesco's own wife is unknown, but she had spent her youth in France at the court of the titular Empress of Constantinople, Marie de Bourbon, and was remembered by the ransomed French nobles after Nicopolis for her courtesy and hospitality: Sire Jean Froissart, *Les Chroniques*, ed. J. A. C. Buchon, 3 vols. (Paris, 1835), Lib. IV, c. 59: vol. III, pp. 300–301.

35) Cf. S. Stanojević, «Die Biographie Stefan Lazarević's von Konstantin dem Philosophen als Geschichtsquelle», *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, 18 (1896), 409–472, esp. 429.

36) Cydones, letter 321, ed. Loenertz, II, p. 250.

37) Cydones, letter 350, ed. Loenertz, II, pp. 289–292, written in the late spring of 1387 to recommend the refugees from Thessalonica. In 1396 Cydones had also recommended Manuel Calecas, who was then thinking of settling on Lesbos: Loenertz, *Correspondance de Manuel Calécas*, 43 ss, and appendix 4.

38) Dennis, *The Reign of Manuel II in Thessalonica*, 156–157.

39) Froissart, *Les Chroniques*, ed. Buchon, Lib. IV, c. 53: III, p. 276; also c. 58, p. 297.

fellow Genoese in Pera besieged by the forces of the Ottoman Emir Bajezid<sup>40</sup>). Yet, he did contribute some ships to expeditions against the Turks<sup>41</sup>). He also continued the family tradition of antagonizing the Republic of Venice on several occasions<sup>42</sup>).

The date of the death of Francesco II poses another problem. According to the present chronicle, he died on 26 October 6911 *anno mundi*, corresponding to A. D. 1402; unfortunately the A. D. date is not, as previously, given. However, Francesco was still alive in the first week of October 1403 when Clavijo visited Lesbos, and had shortly before joined his son-in-law, John VII, in an attack on Thessalonica<sup>43</sup>). In view of this evidence and the fact that the chronicler is consistently a year wrong in his dates from the creation of the world, we can reasonably rule out 1402. But did Francesco die in 1403 or in 1404? The latter date is generally accepted, but, unfortunately there is a gap in the sources until April 1405 when Niccolò is found as regent on Lesbos for Francesco's son and successor. The chronicler's statement that his rule lasted twenty years in all, dating from 6 August 1384, is not exact enough, although it would

40) L. T. Belgrano, «Prima serie di documenti riguardanti la colonia Genovese di Pera», *Atti della Società Ligure di storia patria*, 13 (1877), p. 169, 953—967.

41) On 1 December 1388 he joined an anti-Turkish league with the Hospitallers, Cyprus, the Genoese of Chios and of Pera: G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1948—1952), II, 439—440; P. Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese and Their Administration of the Island, 1346—1566*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1958), I, 153. In the autumn of 1397 a ship from Mytilene took part in the punitive expedition led by Boucicaud along the Turkish coast, although Francesco told him that he had informed the Turks of the impending attack because of the agreement he had with them: *Livre des faits du bon messire Jean le Maingre, dit Boucicaud*, ed. J. A. C. Buchon in vol. III, of Froissart, *Les Chroniques* (cit. supra), p. 602. Cf. Delaville-Le Roulx, *op. cit.*, I, 365—375. Ships from Mytilene and Ainos also took part in another expedition led by Boucicaud in June 1403: *Ibid.*, 428.

42) In 1398 Venice was angered by ships from Lesbos attacking Cretan merchants: H. Noiret, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la domination vénitienne en Crète de 1380 à 1485* (Paris, 1892), 107, 127; and again in 1402: cf. F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie*, II (Paris—La Haye, 1959), no. 1081.

43) Clavijo, ed. Estrada, *loc. cit.*

imply that his rule lasted until 1404. On the other hand, although the matter is somewhat complicated, there are reasons for believing that Francesco died in 1403. In paragraph 7 of this chronicle it is stated that Palamede, the youngest of Francesco's sons, succeeded his great-uncle Niccolò as ruler of Ainos, and that he was twenty years old at the time and «because of this» (if we take the words, «διὰ τοῦτο», strictly) he assumed the reins of government, that is, he was of age to rule. This took place in the spring of 1409 when Niccolò died. Palamede, therefore, must have been born about 1389, the youngest of three brothers. The oldest brother Jacopo would then have been born around 1387, making him twenty years old and of age to govern in 1407 or 1408. The chronicle also (paragraph 5) states that at the death of Francesco II, Jacopo was not yet of age and that Niccolò acted as regent for five years. If these figures are correct, then his regency would have ended not later than 1408. Counting back five years, therefore, the death of Francesco II and the accession of Jacopo would have taken place in 1403. Without further and more precise sources, however, it seems that neither 1403 nor 1404 can be accepted as certain.

## 5. 26 October 1403/1404—1408/1409

His son Jacopo governed after him, and again the Lord of Ainos, Niccolò, came and took over the government, for the new ruler was not yet of age. Niccolò acted as regent for him and his domain for five years.

As indicated in paragraph 7 of this chronicle, Jacopo was the oldest of three brothers, and must have been about fifteen or sixteen years old when his father died. A document of 1405 clearly refers to Niccolò as regent<sup>44</sup>). During his period of regency, early in 1406 he erected fortifications on Tenedos, which caused some discussion in the Venetian Senate<sup>45</sup>).

44) «... dominus Enei qui gubernat filios domini Mettelini...»: dated Venice, 4 April 1405: Noiret, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

45) N. Iorga, *Notes et Extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 5 vols. (Paris—Bucharest, 1899—1915), I, pp. 150—151.

## 6. 1408/1409

On coming of age he married the daughter of the Lord of Nice in the region of Marseilles, whose name was Madame Bonne and who was very beautiful—in Greek Bonne means beautiful—and he assumed control over the government and the affairs of his domain. Niccolò, however, returned to Ainos, to his own realm; there after a short time he fell ill and died.

As already mentioned, Niccolò's regency must have come to an end in 1408, or at the very latest, early in 1409. In a document of January 1409 he is referred to as Lord of Ainos, which could mean that he was no longer on Lesbos<sup>46)</sup>. On 12 April of the same year the Hospitallers wrote separate letters to Niccolò, Lord of Ainos, and to Jacopo, Lord of Mytilene<sup>47)</sup>. Sometime in April, or early in May, Niccolò died, for in a Genoese document of 25 May 1409 he is already referred to as deceased<sup>48)</sup>.

The mention of Jacopo's marriage with Bonne, the daughter of the ruler of Nice, presents a difficult problem, and probably, as Miller had pointed out, represents a confusion with the marriage of his sister to Giovanni Grimaldi, Lord of Boglio and, for a time at least, ruler of Nice<sup>49)</sup>. In any event, in 1421 the

46) Luxoro e Pinelli–Gentile, op. cit., doc. 7, pp. 217–218.

47) Miller, op. cit., 324, n. 7, citing a document from the Archives of Malta: Libri Bullarum, 24, f. 194 v.

48) Luxoro e Pinelli–Gentile, op. cit., doc. 8, p. 218.

49) Miller, op. cit., 236, citing Gioffredo, *Storia delle Alpi marittime* (unavailable to me). On 8 July 1440 Pope Eugene IV, at the request of Emperor John VIII Palaeologus, granted an ecclesiastical promotion to the son of the sister of the Lord of Mytilene (Dorino), who was the wife of the Lord of Boglio: «Cum carissimus V. S. filius Iohannes Paleologus, Romeorum imperator, quendam suum pronepotem seu consanguineum, natum cuiusdam neptis sue, sororis domini de Metelino ac uxoris domini et baronis baronie de Boleo, bone indolis atque ingenii, in vicesimo-seculo vel circa sue etatis anno constitutum, in generali studio Avenionensi studentem, Anthonium de Boleo nomine, et archipresbiterum ecclesie beate Marie de Clancio Nicciensis diocesis, ...»: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. suppl., 360, f. 36. The genealogy of the Gattilusi family still remains to be studied, for that given by C. Hopf in his *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes* (Berlin, 1873), p. 502, is so full of errors that it is practically useless for the historian.

name of Jacopo's wife is given as Valentina Doria<sup>50)</sup>.

## 7. 1408/1409 – 1428

He left as the successor and heir to his domain the third and youngest brother, the Lord Jacopo [Palamede]. For there were three brothers: the first was Jacopo, Lord of Mytilene; the second was the ruler of Old Phocaea, Dorino; and the third was Palamede, whom their grandfather had designated in his will as Lord of Ainos. And he was twenty years old when he became Lord of Ainos, and because of this he assumed the reins of government there.

First of all, it is clear that the copyist has erred in writing Jacopo instead of Palamede, but the correct listing of the sons and their realms is then given. During his rule over Lesbos Jacopo generally followed the policies of his father, Francesco II. He maintained, for example, a strong naval force, and his ships were sought in anti-Turkish leagues as well as for other missions. One of his ships aided a Genoese fleet in defeating some Catalan pirates in the harbor of Alexandria on 24 July 1411<sup>51)</sup>. He also managed to arouse the wrath of the Hospitallers in the spring of 1412 by imprisoning the crew of one of their ships which had captured a Turkish galley off Mytilene<sup>52)</sup>. As might be expected, he too had his difficulties with Venice<sup>53)</sup>. Jacopo died apparently in the summer of 1428, for a Genoese document of 11 May of that year was addressed to all three brothers, Lords of Mytilene, Ainos and Old Phocaea<sup>54)</sup>. On 11 October of that year, however, the government of Genoa addressed the second brother, Dorino, as Lord of Mytilene<sup>55)</sup>.

50) Iorga, *Notes et Extraits*, I, p. 314.

51) Giorgio Stella, *Annales Genuenses*, ed. L. A. Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, 17 (Milan, 1730), 1238.

52) J. Delaville–Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes jusqu'à la mort de Philibert de Naillac, 1310–1421* (Paris, 1913), 327.

53) Cf. Thiriet, op. cit., II, no. 1495, 1498, 1555.

54) Luxoro e Pinelli–Gentile, op. cit., doc. 10, pp. 220–221.

55) Idem, *Giornale Ligustico*, 2 (1875), doc. 14, p. 86.

It is uncertain just when Dorino became ruler of Old Phocaea on the coast of Asia Minor. As early as 1402 Francesco II seems to have been regarded as its ruler, and in 1415 Jacopo is mentioned as lease-holder of Old Phocaea<sup>56</sup>). Certainly by 1424—1425 Dorino had become its lord, for a marble slab there bears the Palaeologus monogram and the Gattilusi arms with the inscription: «Doris Palaeologus Gattilusio, Lord of Old Phocaea, 6932 [anno mundi]<sup>57</sup>). On the death of Jacopo, Dorino settled in Mytilene as lord of both Mytilene and Old Phocaea<sup>58</sup>). About 1445 he became an invalid, and the island was administered by his son Domenico, who officially became ruler on Dorino's death on 30 June 1445<sup>59</sup>).

Palamede, the youngest of the three brothers, began his rule over Ainos, as the chronicle states, in 1408—1409 at the age of twenty. He died in 1455, the year before Ainos was captured by the Turks<sup>60</sup>).

56) Shortly after the capture of Smyrna by Tamerlane in December 1402, Ducas reports that envoys from New Phocaea, held by the Genoese, and from Old Phocaea, which belonged to the ruler of Mytilene, paid tribute to the Mongol conqueror, and that the Lord of Lesbos offered homage to his representative outside Phocaea: Ducas. ed. Grecu, pp. 107—109; ed. Bonn, pp. 75—76. Still, in 1412—1413 Genoa regulated the election of magistrates for Old Phocaea: Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios*, II, 214—217. In 1415 Jacopo is referred to as lease-holder of Old Phocaea: *Ibid.*, I, 170.

57) Hasluck. *op. cit.*, 258.

58) Document written in Mytilene, 11 October 1428: «... dominus Dorinus Gattilusius civitatis et insule Mitilene et Foliarum veterarum dominus... in civitate Mitilene»: Luxoro a Pinelli—Gentile, *op. cit.*, *Giornale Ligustico*, 2 (1875), doc. 14, p. 86.

59) Ducas, ed. Grecu, pp. 411—413; ed. Bonn, pp. 328—329.

60) On the end of the Gattilusi dynasty, cf. Miller. *op. cit.*; F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit* (Munich. 1953), 142, 224 ss.; A. E. Bakalopoulos, *Ἱστορία τοῦ νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ* (Thessalonica, 1961), I, 289 ss.

## AN UNKNOWN BYZANTINE EMPEROR, ANDRONICUS V PALAEOLOGUS (1400—1407?)

It has generally been assumed that the Emperor John VII Palaeologus had no children, and this article does not intend to disprove that assumption<sup>1</sup>). Certainly he left no heir to succeed him at his death on 22 September 1408<sup>2</sup>). The possibility, however, of his having had a son who died sometime before that date cannot be excluded. In fact, reasons do exist for believing that John VII was the father of a son named Andronicus, who was proclaimed as co-emperor and expected to succeed to the throne, but who died at the early age of seven. It is the aim of these pages, then, to put forth these reasons, not as proofs of an historical fact, but as grounds for a plausible hypothesis in the hope that they may shed some light on a still obscure period of Byzantine history.

Two hitherto unpublished texts provide the basis for the hypothesis presented here. The first is an anonymous monody or funeral oration contained in a manuscript of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna: Phil. gr. 241, fol. 133—133v, and the second is a consolatory letter from a bishop to an emperor found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris: gr. 968, fol. 1—5v. Both are edited below (Appendix I and II), divided into paragraphs and prefaced by a summary of their contents.

The Vienna manuscript is a miscellaneous one written in 1445—1446 by a sixteen year old copyist named John<sup>3</sup>). Possibly he was learning to be a professional scribe in the imperial chancery, and this manuscript might represent a sort of exercise book, for he has copied out on the pages immediately

<sup>1</sup>) On John VII cf. F. Dölger, *Johannes VII., Kaiser der Rhomäer, 1390—1408*, in: *Byz. Ztschr.* 31 (1931) 21—36. — P. Wirth, *Zum Geschichtsbild Kaiser Johannes VII. Palaiologos*, in *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 592—600.

<sup>2</sup>) It is explicitly stated that John VII died *ἄναις* in the short chronicle of the Cod. Vat. gr. 162, edited by R. J. Loenertz, in: *Ἐπ. Ἑτ. Βυζ. Σπουδ.* 28 (1958) 204—215, c. 19, p. 211. The date of his death is given in a short notice in the Cod. Vat. gr. 568, fol. IIv, published by G. Mercati, in: *Studi Biz.* 2 (1927) 242. Also, S. Lampros-K. Amantos, *Βραχέα Χρονικά*, Athens 1932, no. 47, 77—78, which gives the date as 10 September. Cf. Dölger, *op. cit.*, 36.

<sup>3</sup>) H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Vienna 1961, p. 349—351.

following the monody a few documents of John V Palaeologus<sup>4</sup>). A copy of the monody may have been among the official papers to which he had access.

Whether the title was on the original or was prefixed to it by the transcriber of the Viennese manuscript, it does furnish us with a good deal of information, which of course must be employed with caution. The monody is entitled as follows: "Monody on the death of the Lord Emperor Andronicus Palaeologus, the son of Lord John the nephew of Lord Emperor Manuel, at the age of seven years" (*Monody*, 1–3: references to this text will be given as *Monody* and the lines of our edition). There can scarcely be any doubt that the reference is to a seven year old son of John VII Palaeologus, the nephew of Manuel II Palaeologus. This son was named Andronicus and had the title of emperor, a fact which is also confirmed by the text of the oration (*Monody*, 10, 25, 29, 37, 45). That he was but a child at the time of his death is also clear from the text (*Monody*, 19–20, 29–30, et passim); apparently he was an only child, at least, an only son (*Monody*, 15). His imperial parents had hoped that he would succeed them on the throne (*Monody*, 15–16). Independently of the title, therefore, it appears certain that an Andronicus Palaeologus was proclaimed co-emperor with the expectation of his succeeding to the throne, but he died in childhood.

The consolatory letter (referred to as *Letter* with the lines of our edition) occupies the first five folios of the Paris manuscript, a fifteenth century miscellany of Patristic and Byzantine texts. Written in a thick ink, it is rather difficult to read in places. Several lines on fol. 5v and 6 seem to have been erased and, although it is not at all clear, in the line immediately following the text one can barely make out the letters: . . . ὁ Θεὸς . . . Γαβρ . . . λ . . .

As might be expected in a Byzantine letter, no specific names are given, including those of the writer and the addressee. It is certain, however, from the lengthy salutation and from the body of the letter that it was written to an emperor. The writer refers to himself by the title: ἡμετριότης ἡμῶν, ordinarily reserved exclusively to the patriarch of Constantinople. But during the reign of John VI Cantacuzenus (1347–1354) the metropolitans of Thessalonica began to use the same title in addressing people within their own jurisdiction<sup>5</sup>). The present letter, then, could conceivably have been written sometime between about 1350 and 1430 by a metropolitan of Thessalonica to an emperor residing in that city. This possibility finds some support in the emphasis placed by the author on the thought of the deceased son of the emperor

standing by God's throne together with St. Demetrius, the patron of Thessalonica (*Letter*, 135–141). The writer cites two examples from the legends of the saints in which a widow loses her only son but is consoled by a vision of her son sharing the glory of the martyrs in heaven and is led to offer thanks to God. The emperor to whom the letter is addressed, therefore, should not grieve at the death of his young son, but should offer thanks to God and to his great martyr Demetrius. While this is obviously not a proof, it does seem to imply that both the writer and the addressee had very close ties, possibly as residents, with Thessalonica, the city of St. Demetrius. Moreover, if the erased words following the Letter in the manuscript do read as interpreted above, then the author would be Metropolitan Gabriel of Thessalonica (1397–1416/19) and the emperor to whom he wrote John VII Palaeologus, ruling in that city from 1403 to 1408.

On learning of the misfortune which had befallen the emperor, the death of his young son, the author grieved for he had prayed that the young emperor would grow to manhood and succeed his father on the throne (*Letter*, 6–11). He also regrets that he was not present at the time of the tragic event and was unable to offer some words of sympathy and consolation to the emperor in person (*Letter*, 11–15), but he is now writing to him for such is his duty (*Letter*, 16, 24–27), a duty which he then proceeds to fulfill at some length.

Although one cannot be certain that both the Monody and the Letter are concerned with the same event, nonetheless, the parallels between the two are so striking that it is highly probable. Both were occasioned by the unexpected death of a son of an emperor (*Monody*, 8–9, 14–15; *Letter*, 9–10, 136), a young child (*Monody*, 19–20, 29–30; *Letter*, 7–8, 60–62, 68–70), apparently an only son (*Monody*, 15; implied in *Letter*, 99–132). This son bore the title of emperor (*Monody*, 29, 37, 45; *Letter*, 8, 32, 40, 54, et passim), and was expected to succeed to the throne (*Monody*, 15–16; *Letter*, 8).

Even prescind from the title of the Monody, the data given in the text can only apply to a son of John VII. Without presenting a detailed list of all the possibilities, it may be stated with some confidence that none of the sources treating of the last two centuries of Byzantine history permits us to speak of an Andronicus Palaeologus, a child emperor and the son of a ruling emperor, unless he were the son of John VII. One would, moreover, expect John VII to give his own father's name to his first son, just as John V named his eldest son Andronicus [IV], who in turn called his first son John, as did his brother Manuel II; John VIII had no children<sup>6</sup>). If one accepts the title of the Monody as accurate, then he must also accept as certain that John VII had a son named Andronicus on whom he bestowed the title of emperor. On the other

<sup>4</sup>) Published by H. Hunger, Kaiser Johannes V. Palaiologos und der Heilige Berg, in: *Byz. Ztschr.* 45 (1952) 357–379.

<sup>5</sup>) Cf. J. Darrouzès, *Lettres de 1453*, in: *Rev. Ét. Byz.* 22 (1964) 106.

<sup>6</sup>) J. Gill, *Personalities of the Council of Florence and Other Essays*, Oxford 1964, 108.

hand, if one wishes to rely on the text alone, exactly the same conclusion seems to impose itself. The mention of a specific name, Andronicus Palaeologus, would be almost unthinkable if this monody were a simple rhetorical exercise of the type common among the Byzantines. Whether the Monody was actually delivered or not, it certainly was written down, and there is no reason to reject the scraps of historical information it contains. On the basis of this document, therefore, the historian has sufficient grounds for affirming that the child-emperor Andronicus was the son of John VII Palaeologus.

Regarding the Letter, however, the ground is not as firm. Since no names are given, it could possibly refer to a number of instances in the long history of Byzantium in which a ruling emperor witnessed the death of his young son, but a discussion of each one would unduly lengthen this article. At any rate, there are indications, as mentioned previously, that this letter might have been occasioned by the death of a young son of John VII. These indications would become historical certainties if it could be proven that the Letter refers to the same event as the Monody and that both the writer and the addressee were residents of Thessalonica. The only other emperor, a son of a reigning emperor, who died in Thessalonica was Michael IX in 1320, but he was not a child by any means, and he was already the father of an emperor (Andronicus III), whereas the deceased emperor in the Letter is a child, not yet the father of an emperor (*Letter*, 69—70). Still, on the basis of the Letter alone, the brief existence of Andronicus Palaeologus, the son of John VII, cannot be substantiated; all the historian can affirm on reading this document is that it is possible, perhaps even very probable.

There is nothing in the extant source material to conflict with the supposition that John VII had a son and heir. In fact, one source, which admittedly is not accurate in all its details, might be taken to imply that John did have a son. In recounting his mission to Tamerlane Clavijo speaks of the agreement made between Manuel II and John VII late in 1403 after the latter's unsuccessful attempt to take Thessalonica. Basically it was similar to their proposed settlement in 1393, that is, Manuel would adopt his nephew, who in turn would adopt Manuel's own son, John VIII, and the succession to the throne would be in that order<sup>7</sup>). According to Clavijo, Manuel and John VII, whom he erroneously calls Demetrius (perhaps because of John's connection with Thessalonica, the city of St. Demetrius), reached the following agreement: at the death of Manuel, John VII would become emperor to be succeeded by Manuel's son who in turn would be followed by the son of

<sup>7</sup>) R. J. Loenertz, Une Erreur singulière de Laonic Chalcocondyle, in: *Rev. Ét. Byz.* 15 (1957) 183—184.

John VII<sup>8</sup>). Since Clavijo does not explicitly state that John had a son at this time and since his information is second-hand, one cannot base an argument on this report, but neither can one neglect it.

If John VII did indeed have a son, questions naturally arise regarding the dates of his birth and death. To these questions it is impossible to reply with any certitude. John VII married the daughter of Francesco II Gattilusio, the Lord of Lesbos, sometime between 1390 and 1397<sup>9</sup>). If the marriage took place as early as 1390 his bride could scarcely have been more than six years old<sup>10</sup>). Probably they were still without a son in 1397, for it seems unlikely that John would think of selling his rights to the throne if he were already assured of an heir<sup>11</sup>). When he came from Selymbria to Constantinople in December 1399 to act as regent during his uncle's journey to Western Europe, he was accompanied by his wife and his mother; there is no mention of a child<sup>12</sup>). While one cannot argue from such an omission, it does seem somewhat unlikely that Manuel would have entrusted his capital to John for a period of several years if the latter had an heir. While a slightly earlier date cannot be absolutely excluded, the most likely birthdate of a son of John VII would be in 1400—1401. If he died at the age of seven, as is stated in the title of the Monody, his death would have occurred in 1407—1408. Both the Monody and the Letter make it clear that he died as a child before his father, who died on 22 September 1408. Moreover, if the references to St. Demetrius in the Letter really indicate a connection with Thessalonica, his death would have taken place during his father's reign in that city, that is, from the end of 1403 to September 1408.

Although on the basis of our present knowledge it cannot be asserted with certainty, still there do exist solid reasons for stating that John VII had

<sup>8</sup>) "... E son agora abenidos en esta manera: que se llamen ambos ados enperadores e que después de sus días deste que agora es e tiene el ynperio, que sea el otro enperador; e después de sus días quello torne aser el fijo deste que agora es; e después, el fijo del otro, e a esta manera son acordados; lo qual tengo quello non guardarán el uno al otro." Ruy González de Clavijo, *Embajada a Tamorlán*, ed. F. López-Estrada, Madrid 1943, 56.

<sup>9</sup>) Cf. Dölger, op. cit., 31. — R. J. Loenertz, *Épître de Manuel II Paléologue aux moines David et Damien, 1416*, in: *Studi biz. e neoell.* 9 (1957) 296, n. 2. — J. W. Barker, John VII in Genoa: a Problem in Late Byzantine Source Confusion, in: *Or. Christ. Per.* 18 (1962) 238.

<sup>10</sup>) G. Dennis, The Short Chronicle of Lesbos, 1355—1428, in: *Αεσβιακά* 5 (1966) 123—142, esp. 136.

<sup>11</sup>) S. Lampros, 'Ιωάννης Ζ' Παλαιολόγος καὶ Κάρολος Ζ', in: *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 10 (1913) 248—251. The references to John's "heirs" in the document are merely a diplomatic formality and imply nothing one way or the other.

<sup>12</sup>) Cf. Dölger, op. cit., 31.

a son named Andronicus who bore the title of emperor and who died as a child. It is probable that he lived from 1400—1401 to 1407—1408.

The birth of a son and heir to John VII would, particularly if it occurred during Manuel's absence, have profound effects on the Byzantine political situation. It would have enabled John to feel more secure on the throne and more reluctant to hand over the reins of government to his uncle on his return in 1403. Such a situation might provide a partial explanation for Venetian nervousness regarding the activities of John and the Genoese about that time, including the possibility that John might not allow his uncle to resume power in Constantinople<sup>13</sup>). If the young Andronicus was actually proclaimed co-emperor, and equivalently heir presumptive, during that period, this could very conceivably have been one of the major factors in Manuel's anger in the summer and fall of 1403 which led him to banish John to Lemnos.

#### APPENDIX I

##### Monody on the Death of Emperor Andronicus Palaeologus

- (1) Monody on the death of Emperor Andronicus Palaeologus, the son of John the nephew of Emperor Manuel, at the age of seven.
- (2) Never has anything more sorrowful and difficult to bear occurred than at present, for nobody can refrain from grieving at the death of this beautiful imperial child, the young Andronicus.
- (3) What can anyone say in the face of such a grievous loss? The imperial couple, your parents, placed their hopes in you, their only joy, and confidently regarded you gladly as their successor. But now you have brought unbearable sorrow to them and to all of us. What consolation can we find in our distress? Scarcely did we behold this imperial child, when suddenly he departed from our midst. With the prophet Jeremias we lament, not for Jerusalem, but for this wonderful imperial child, Andronicus Palaeologus.
- (4) While weeping various thoughts came to me. Does my beautiful emperor, so young, still play somewhere on earth? No, for he is covered by a small tomb. Yet, despite our grief, there is cause to be glad, for although the emperor's body is in the grave, his soul is with Christ in Paradise. This realization changed my sorrow to joy, and I gave thanks to God.
- (5) Most noble of emperors, now that you have free access to God, do not forget to intercede for us so that we may be delivered from all difficulties and in peace may sing hymns to the Holy Trinity forever.

<sup>13</sup>) On 7 December 1402 the Senate urged Manuel to hasten his return, "et obstare his que ordinantur per nepotem et Januenses": Venice, Archivio di Stato, Senato, Misti 46, fol. 58<sup>v</sup>; also cf. *ibid.*, fol. 73<sup>v</sup>—75<sup>v</sup>.

*Cod. Vindob. phil. gr.* 241, fol. 133—133<sup>v</sup>

- fol. 133. (1) Μονωδία ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ κυροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου βασιλέως τοῦ Παλαιολόγου, υἱοῦ τοῦ κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως κυροῦ Μανουήλ, ἑπτὰ ἔτους ὄντος.
- (2) Πολλὰ πολλάκις ὁ χρόνος ἤνεγκε τὰ δυσχερῆ τε καὶ λυπηρὰ, δεινὰ τε καὶ λίαν χαλεπὰ καὶ ἥκιστα φορητὰ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οὕτως ἔφερε χαλεπώτατον ὅσον νῦν. τίς γὰρ ἄνθρωπος κἂν αὐτόλιθος εἴη, κἂν πεπωρωμένη τυγχάνη ψυχὴ καὶ ἔξω τοῦ καθεστηκότος ὑπάρχει, οὐ θρηνησέι τε καὶ μεγάλως πενήθει ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπελθούσῃ τελευτῇ τοῦ πάνυ εὐειδοῦς τε καὶ ὠραιότατου βασιλικοῦ κλάδου τοῦ ἐξ ὁσφύος βασιλικῆς ἐλθόντος καὶ φερωνύμως ἀνδρῶν τὴν νίκην ἔχοντος, Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ νέου καὶ βασιλικωτάτου στελέχους.
- (3) Ὡ γῆ καὶ ἤλιε καὶ λογικαὶ φροντίδες, τίς λόγος ἐξαρκέσει; τίς εἴπη τὴν τοσαύτην συμφορὰν; τίς ἀν' ἀξίως θρηνησέι τῆς συμφορᾶς τὸ μέγεθος; ἐν ἄλλαις ἐλπίσιν ὄντες οἱ εὐσεβέστατοι καὶ ἅγιοι βασιλεῖς καὶ σοὶ γεννήτορες καὶ εἰς σὲ μόνον εὐφραϊνόμενοι καὶ ἀγαλλόμενοι καὶ διάδοχον θαρροῦντες ἔχει(ν), νῦν ἔφερες τούτοις τὴν ἀφόρητον λύπην καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν. ὦ οἶας τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐτύχομεν. τίς ἔσται παραμυθία; τίς ἔλθῃ ἐν ἡμῖν ἀναψυχὴ; ὦ χρόνε, οἶαν ἡμῖν τὴν συμφορὰν ἐκάλυπτες, φεῦ, τῆς ἡμῶν ἀθλιότητος ὅτι τε ἅμα εἶδομεν τὸν πανευκλεέστατον βασιλικὸν κλάδον καὶ παρευθὺς ἐκ μέσου γέγονεν. τίς ἄρα τελχὶν ἐφθόνησεν ἡμῖν τοῦ τοιοῦτου καλοῦ; ὦ οἶον χαλεπὸν τε καὶ δυστυχὲς εἶδον οἱ ἡμέτεροι ὀφθαλμοί. νῦν ὄντως προσφόρως καὶ τὸ τοῦ προφήτου Ἱερεμίου φάναι· "τίς δώσει τῇ κεφαλῇ μου ὕδωρ καὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μου πηγὴν δακρύων καὶ κλαύσομαι;" οὐχὶ τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ· ἀπόλωλε γάρ, ἀλλὰ τὸν κάλλιστον καὶ ὠραιότατόν μου βασιλικὸν κλάδον κύρ' Ἀνδρόνικον τὸν Παλαιολόγον.
- (4) Οἷμοι, ὁ χρυσοῦς βασιλικώτατος νεοττός ἄρα ποῦ γῆς ἐκρύβη; καὶ οὕτως ἔχοντί μοι καὶ μάλα σφοδρῶς θρηνῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνυποίστῃ ταύτῃ συμφορᾷ καὶ μεγίστῃ, ἄλλος ἐπῆλθέ μοι λογισμός καὶ μοι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐνυττε λέγων· μὴ ὁ ἀνθολευκοχρυσοपुरσοειδέστατός μου βασιλεὺς ἐν νέᾳ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὦν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παιδιᾷ χρώμενος ποῦ ποτε γῆς ἀθύρει; καὶ ἄλλος, φεῦ, ἦλθεν ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ λέγων· οὐ, ἀλλὰ βραχὺς τύμβος τοῦτον καλύψας ἔχει, καὶ αἰθὺς μὴ φέρων τὸ τῆς λύπης μέγεθος πικρῶν δακρύων ἐπλήσθησάν μου οἱ ὀφθαλμοί καὶ μετ' ὀλοφυρμῶν καὶ κωκυτῶν μεγίστων ἔχοντό μοι τὰ δάκρυα. σφοδρῶς τοίνυν κωκύων καὶ ὀλοφυρόμενος ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ μεγίστῃ συμφορᾷ καὶ ἐννεὸς ὥσπερ γενόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ σφοδροῦ
- fol. 133<sup>v</sup>. καὶ || ἀνιαιροῦ τούτου πάθους ἄλλος ἐπῆλθεν ἐν διανοίᾳ μοι λογισμός φάσκων

1. Μονωδία sequitur alia manu colore rubro scripta μονωδία. Complures itacismos tacite correxi.



μοι· χαῖρε, καὶ μὴ οὕτω σφοδρῶς πένθει καὶ ὀλοφύρου. ὁ γὰρ βασιλεὺς ὄν  
 σὺ θρηνηεῖς, εἰ καὶ σωματικῶς οἰκεῖ ἐν τάφῳ, ἀλλ' ἡ τιμαλφεστάτη καὶ  
 ἡλιοειδὴς τοῦτου ψυχὴ Χριστῷ τῷ πάντων βασιλεῖ καὶ κτίστη σύνεστιν  
 40 ἐν παραδείσῳ, τῆς τοῦτου τρυφῆς μετέχων καὶ ἀγαλλιώμενος καὶ τῆς  
 προσκαίρου δῆτα βασιλείας σφοδρῶς ἐπιελησμένος. ταῦτά μοι πρὸς  
 θυμῷδ' ἡγάγε τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ γλυκύτητα, καὶ τὴν πρὶν μεγίστην τε καὶ  
 ἀνούποιστον λύπην εἰς χαρὰν ἄρρητον μετέβαλλεν καὶ ἡδονήν, καὶ Θεῷ  
 τῷ πάντων βασιλεῖ μεγάλως εὐχαρίστουν.  
 45 (5) Ἄλλ' ὦ βασιλεὺς κάλλιστε καὶ τιμαλφέστατε, πρὸς Θεὸν ἔχων  
 παρρησίαν, ὥς πάνυ σαφῶς οἶδα, μὴ ἐλλίπης ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀεὶ πρεσβεύων ὥς  
 ἂν ρυσθῇμεν τῶν δυσχερῶν ἀπάντων τε καὶ χαλεπῶν, καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ γε  
 καὶ κακῶν πάντων ἀπαλλαγῇ ὑμῶμεν τὴν ἀγίαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον Τριάδα  
 τὸν ἕνα Θεὸν εἰς αἰῶνά τὸν ἅπαντα. ἔμοιγε δ' ἔλεως γενοῦ θάλπων με  
 50 ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐν τῷ τυχεῖν με ζωῆς τῆς αἰωνίου.

## APPENDIX II

Letter of Consolation to an Emperor from a Patriarch  
or a Metropolitan of Thessalonica

- (1) We pray for all blessings and prosperity for your sacred majesty.
- (2) On learning of that which has happened to your majesty we grieved, both because we had hoped to see the emperor live and grow up and attain the succession on behalf of the nation and the power of your majesty and because the loss of your dear one might lead your majesty to give yourself over to grief and despair. For this reason we had hoped to speak with you personally, to offer some consolation and to encourage you to resist the temptation to despair.
- (3) Owing, however, to the distance separating us, we are writing from here asking you to take courage and to act as befits an emperor. We are doing this, not because we believe we can provide sufficient consolation in the face of such grief, for your majesty has the strength of soul to heal your own sorrow and to set an example for others. But we are writing because it is our duty to your majesty.
- (4) Your majesty is not so small-minded as to be drowned in despair and to need encouragement from without. Nor ought there to be weeping for the emperor who has departed from us, as though he were liable to chastisement, but he is completely holy and pure, and his journey to God is all the more beneficial and magnificent.
- (5) According to David, the emperor has been called to receive great benefits, and thus it is not fitting to lament. Since St. Gregory the Theologian tells us that the remembrance of the death of a holy man is a sort of blessing, to look

on the emperor's death as a disaster is sinful. Life on earth is transitory whereas that in heaven is lasting. The exchange of the transitory for the lasting ought not to cause excessive sadness, for it is similar to a person passing from darkness to light or from mortality to immortality.

(6) St. Paul prefers life in Christ to this life, and David prays for the release of his soul from this bodily prison. You should not, O Emperor, lose heart at what has happened, since the departed emperor is with the martyrs by the throne of God in the kingdom of Heaven; instead of a scepter and imperial robe, he wears the unsoiled wedding garment of his baptism and has put on Christ. Untouched by sin, he has been taken away before experiencing the difficulties and wickedness of this life. You should not be sad that the emperor has departed at such a tender age, before he could reign, before he too could be the father of emperors. His pure soul has been spared the evils accompanying the pleasures and the passions of the flesh. Had God allowed him to remain with us longer, our grief would have been greater.

(7) That Providence has called him should afford some consolation, since everything done by God is for the good of men; although we might not understand it, we must believe this. It is particularly true in the case of the emperor who has now left us. For he has not only preserved the image according to which we were formed, but he has guarded it unsoiled and has attained the glory of God, so that his death was really beneficial and not a cause for sadness.

(8) We can also learn from the saints just as painters look at their models, and this might also provide some consolation.

(9) The blessed Cleopatra, a widow with only one son, took the body of the martyr Varus and with her son erected a shrine over his tomb. The boy died suddenly, and Cleopatra in her distress reproached the martyr. But in a dream she saw her son together with the martyr, sharing the same dazzling glory and she gave thanks to God.

(10) In the life of St. Longinus we read that a certain widow from Syria, who was blind and relied on her only son to guide her, was visiting the holy places in Jerusalem when the boy died suddenly. Inconsolable she did nothing but grieve, but Longinus appeared to her, restored her sight and showed her son in God's glory, so that she gave thanks to God.

(11) With all this in mind, most noble Emperor, I again ask you not to despair at the present misfortune, but to give thanks to God and to his great martyr Demetrius: to God because he has brought this most pure soul to his kingdom to intercede for us; to Demetrius because the emperor now rejoices with him and stands at his right hand before God's throne. Tears and lamentations, then, are not called for, but hymns of praise to God.

(12) May God the dispenser of all good console your majesty. We have merely said that which was our duty. May the God of comfort also deem you worthy

of his blessed kingdom after this earthly one, through the intercession of the most holy Virgin and all the saints.

*Cod. Par. gr. 968, fol. 1—5v*

- fol. 1 (1) Κράτιστε, θεόστεπτε, θεοπρόβλητε, θεοδόξαστε, ἁγίε μου αὐτοκράτορ  
καὶ βασιλεῦ, χάριν, εἰρήνην, ἔλεος, ὑγίαν καὶ εὐθυμίαν ψυχῆς, εὐδωσιν  
τῶν ἀνὰ χεῖράς σοι προκειμένων κοινωφελῶν ἔργων, καὶ ἄλλο πᾶν ἀγαθὸν  
ἐπεύχεται τῇ κραταιᾷ καὶ ἁγίᾳ βασιλείᾳ σου ἡ μετριότης ἡμῶν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ  
5 παντοκράτορος.  
(2) Τὸ συμβὰν εἰς τὴν κραταιὰν καὶ ἁγίαν βασιλείαν σας γνωρίσαντες  
ἐλυπήθημεν ὡς εἰκός, τοῦτο μὲν ὅτι δι' εὐχῆς ἦν ἡμῖν ζῆν καὶ ἀνδρωθῆναι  
τὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἅγιον καὶ εἰς διαδοχὴν γενέσθαι καὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ τοῦ  
κράτους τῆς βασιλείας σας, τοῦτο δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἡ ἁγία βασιλεία σου τῇ τοῦ  
10 φιλάτου ἀποβολῇ ἔμελλες ἑαυτὸν ἐνδιδόναι πένθει καὶ ἀθυμίᾳ οὗ τὸν βίον  
εὐχόμεθα καὶ τὴν ζωὴν ἐν εὐθυμίᾳ τυγχάνειν καὶ ἡδονῇ καὶ χαρᾷ. δι' αὐτὴν καὶ  
ἡμῶν ἀπὸ γλώττης ὁμιλῆσαι ἔχειν τῇ κραταιᾷ καὶ ἁγίᾳ βασιλείᾳ σου  
πρὸς ἀντιστήκωσιν μερικὴν τῆς ἐπισυμβάσης ἀθυμίας αὐτῇ καὶ παρακαλέσαι  
ταύτην καὶ ἀξιῶσαι ἀντιστῆναι καὶ ἀντιπαλαίσει πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην  
15 προσβολὴν μετὰ γενναίου καὶ βασιλικοῦ τοῦ φρονήματος.  
(3) Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ διαστήματα ἡμῖν ἐμποδῶν, γράφομεν ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἀξιούμεν  
ταῦτα ἐνθυμῶμεθα καὶ διαπραξάσθαι τὴν ἁγίαν βασιλείαν σου, ὅσα  
εἰσὶν ἱκανὰ πρὸς θεραπείαν τῆς σῆς θειοτάτης ψυχῆς. || καὶ τοῦτο δὲ  
20 ποιοῦμεν οὐχ ὅτι ἡμεῖς διδασκαλικοὶ ἢ ἱκανοὶ πρὸς παραμυθίαν ἀθυμίας  
τοσαύτης· ἀρκετὴ γάρ ἐστιν Θεοῦ χάριτι ἡ κραταιὰ καὶ ἁγία βασιλεία σου  
ἐκ τῶν προσόντων αὐτῇ ψυχικῶν πλεονεκτημάτων ἐκεῖνα ρυθμιθῆναι αὐτῇ πρὸς  
ἰατρειάν ἐστιν ὀδυνομένης ψυχῆς καὶ φιλοσοφῆσαι πρὸς τὰ παρόντα καὶ τύπος  
τοῖς πολλοῖς γενέσθαι καὶ ὑπογραμμὸς τῇ ἐνούσῃ ταύτῃ σοφίᾳ καὶ πείρᾳ  
καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βασιλικοῖς προτερήμασιν. ἀλλ' ἵνα δεῖξωμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ ὅ  
25 παρέχομεν χρέος περὶ τὴν ἁγίαν βασιλείαν σας τοῦτο ποιοῦμεν, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ  
τὸν μακάριον Παῦλον καὶ "κλαίειν μετὰ κλαίωντων καὶ χαίρειν μετὰ χαιρόν-  
των" ὀφείλομεν.  
(4) Καὶ γὰρ οὐτε ἡ ἁγία βασιλεία σας κατὰ τοὺς μικροψύχους ἐστὲ,  
ὥστε τῷ περιόντι τῆς ἀθυμίας καταβαπτισθῆναι καὶ τινων ἐξωθεν λόγων  
30 δεῖσθαι πρὸς θεραπείαν· ἀνάλογον γὰρ τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ ψυχῇ  
ἐνέσθηκεν ὑμῖν ὁ πάντων δημιουργὸς γενναίαν καὶ μεγαλόψυχον καὶ καρτερικὴν.  
οὐτε ὁ ἐξ ἡμῶν μεταστάς βασιλεὺς θρήνων καὶ οἰμωγῶν ἄξιός ἐστι διὰ τὰς  
ἐνούσας αὐτοῦ τῇ ψυχῇ κηλίδας, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς αὐτῷ προσήκοντας ἀπα-  
35 μύθηται ὀδύρεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἅτε πρὸς τῇ μετα||στάσει καὶ κόλασιν ὑποστησο-  
μένω, ἀλλ' ὅλος ἐστὶν ἅγιος, ὅλος καθάρος, ἔξω παντὸς ῥύπου, τὸ θεῖον

2. εὐδωσιν cod. 13. ἀντιστήκωσιν cod. 26—27. Rom. 12, 15.

- περιφέρειν λουτρόν, οὗ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ εὐφρόσυνος τοῖς τεκοῦσι καὶ ἡ πρὸς Θεὸν  
πορεία τε καὶ μετάστασις λυσιτελεστέρα πολλῶν ταύτης καὶ περιφανεστέρα.  
(5) Κατὰ γὰρ τὸν προφήτην Δαυὶδ λέγοντα· "ἐπίστρεψον ψυχὴ εἰς τὴν  
ἀνάπαισίν σου ὅτι Κύριος εὐεργέτησέ σοι", ἐπ' εὐεργεσίαις ἐκλήθη μάλλον ὁ  
40 βασιλεὺς, τὸ δὲ τούτου εὐεργετηθέντος ἡμᾶς λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ἀλῶειν καὶ  
ἀδημονεῖν οὐθ' ὅσιον οὔτε λυσιτελές. εἰ γὰρ κατὰ τὸν μέγαν ἐν θεολογίᾳ Γρηγό-  
ριον τὸ μεμνησθαι τελευτῆς ὁσίου ἀνδρὸς ἁγιασμός ἐστι κατὰ μέθεξιν, πάντως  
τὸ συμφορὰν ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευτὴν καὶ ἀθυμεῖν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἀμαρτία  
ἐστίν. ἄλλως τε παροιμία μὲν ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἡ παρούσα ζωὴ, κατοικία δὲ καὶ  
45 πολίτευμα τὸ ἐν οὐρανοῖς. τὸ οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς παροιμίας ταύτης ἐπὶ τὴν κατοικίαν  
μεταχωρεῖν οὐ θρήνων οὐδὲ ὀδυρμῶν οὐδὲ ἀθυμίας αἰτίον· ταῦτόν γὰρ ἂν εἴη  
ὥσπερ εἰ τις ὀδύραιτο τὸν ἀπὸ σκότους μεταβαίνοντα πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἢ τὸν  
ἀπὸ θνητότητος εἰς ἀθανασίαν.  
(6) Διὰ τοῦτο νῦν μὲν ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος τῆς ἐνταῦθα ζωῆς προκρίνει  
fol. 2v τὸ ἐν Χριστῷ ζῆν καὶ ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀναλύσαι, νῦν δὲ || ὁ προφήτης Δαυὶδ ἐξαγαγεῖν  
51 ἐκ φυλακῆς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ εὐχεται τῷ Θεῷ, τοῦ βίου δηλαδὴ τούτου καὶ  
τοῦ σαρκίου. καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ πολλὰς φθέγγονται τὰ αὐτά. οὐδεὶς  
τοιγαροῦν, ὃ κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, ἀθυμεῖσθαι σε λίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγεννημένοις,  
ἐπειδὴ περ ὁ μεταστάς βασιλεὺς μετὰ τῶν μαρτύρων τυγχάνει τῷ θρόνῳ  
55 παρεστὼς τοῦ Θεοῦ, βασιλείας ἀπολαύει τῆς ἐν οὐρανῷ ἢ πολὺ τῆς ἐπιγείου  
ταύτης περιφανεστέρα τε καὶ μονιμωτέρα, ἀντὶ σκήπτρου καὶ χλαμύδος  
βασιλικῆς ἀρρόπυτον τὸ γαμικὸν ἔνδυμα ἐνεμμένος, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ θεῖον τῆς  
παλιγγενεσίας λουτρόν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Χριστός, δι' οὗ αὐτὸν ἐνδύομεθα. διὰ τί  
γάρ, φησὶν, "εἰσῆλθες ὧδε μὴ ἔχων ἔνδυμα γάμου;" καὶ "ὅσοι εἰς Χριστὸν  
60 ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε." οὕτε τι τῶν ἐξ ἀμαρτίας ἐπισυρόμενος  
οὔτε εἰς πείραν ἡμῶν τῶν ἀλγινῶν αὐτῇ ἡ παρούσα ματαιότης τοῦ βίου οἶδεν  
ἐπάγειν. ἡρπάγη γὰρ, φησιν, ἵνα μὴ κακίᾳ ἀλλάξῃ σύνεσιν αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὅτι τὸ  
ἐνταῦθα βιοῦν ἐπεὶ συναναμείνεται τοῖς ἡδέσι τὰ λυπηρά ἐστὶ ποτε εἰς  
ἀθυμίαν γενέσθαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν βίον ἀσχολουμένοις. τὸ δὲ πρὸς Θεὸν ἀναλύσαι  
fol. 3 καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ζῆν τὴν ζωὴν τὴν μακαρίαν καὶ ἀνεκλάλητον ἀνεπί||μικτον πάντως  
66 φέρει τὴν ἡδονὴν καὶ πάσης ἀθυμίας ἐπιδεῖ. δι' αὐτὴν καὶ οἱ τούτῳ  
προσῆκοντες τὸ πλεον ἀφαιροῦσι τῆς λύπης ἐκεῖνα στρέφοντες κατὰ νοῦν οἷς  
ὁ ἐξ αὐτῶν μεταστάς συναγάλλεται. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὅτι παρὰ πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα καὶ  
ἐν ἀπαλῇ πάντῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ μετέστη τῶν ἐνταῦθα ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὶν ἡμᾶς αὐτῷ  
70 ἐφησθῆναι, πρὶν γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλέων πατέρα, ἀπαρμυύθητος τῇ  
κραταιᾷ καὶ ἁγίᾳ βασιλείᾳ σου ἡ τούτου μετάστασις. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πάλιν  
εἰς παραμυθίαν ἐστὶ νῦν τοῦτο συνεχώρησεν ὁ Θεός, ὅτε καὶ ἡ ἐκεῖνον μακαρία  
ψυχὴ καθαρωτέρα πάντῃ καὶ ἀπειρος τῶν ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡδονῶν, καὶ ἡ

38—39. Psalm. 114, 7. 41—42. Greg. Naz., epist. 238, PG 37, 380—381.  
49—50. Phil., 1, 23. 50—51. Psalm. 141, 8. 58. Mat. 22, 11.  
59—60. Gal. 3, 27. 62. ἡρπάγει cod. 66. ἐπιδεῖ cod.

- κραταιὰ καὶ ἅγια βασιλεία σου ἀκμὴν ἀγευστος τῶν ἐκείνου προτερημάτων·  
 75 ἃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὰ πολλάκις ἐν ἀκμάζοντι σώματι ψυχικὸν ὄλισθον ἐμποιεῖ, τῇ γὰρ  
 τοῦ σώματος κατὰ μικρὸν αὐξήσῃ καὶ τὰ φυσικὰ πάντως πάθη ἀκολουθεῖ. εἰ  
 δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον συνεχωρεῖτο μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶναι ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ταῦτα παρα-  
 δεικνύνειν ἤρχετο ἃ τοὺς τεκόντας οἶδεν εὐφραίνειν, εἴτα ἐπῆει τούτῳ ἡ  
 80 τελευτῇ, ὁ πᾶσα ( . . . ) ἐκείνον ἀνάγκη ἐπεὶ καὶ θνητὸς ἦν, τότε μᾶλλον  
 λυπηρότερον ἂν ἦν τὸ συμβάν, ἅτε ὑπ' ὀψιν ὄντων τῶν ἐκείνου προτερη-  
 μάτων τῇ ὀδυνομένῃ ψυχῇ.  
 fol. 3v (7) Καὶ χωρὶς δὲ τούτων|| αὐτὸ τὸ τῇ προνοίᾳ δοκοῦν καὶ ἡ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ  
 ψῆφος ἱκανὸν παραμύθιον ταῖς λυπουμέναις ψυχαῖς, ἐπειδὴ τὸ παρ' αὐτοῦ  
 85 ἅπαν ἐπὶ συμφέροντι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οἰκονομεῖται, εἰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 τὸν λόγον ἀγνοοῦμεν τῆς συγχωρήσεως. καὶ τοῦτο ἐν ἅπασιν μὲν γε πιστέον  
 καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῷ νῦν ἐξ ἡμῶν μεταστάντι καὶ  
 πολλῷ πλέον. εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συμφέρον, τὸ τὴν εἰκόνα σῶσαι  
 ἐφ' ἣν καὶ ἐπλάσθημεν τὸ τοῦ παραδείσου πάλιν γενέσθαι οἰκήτορας ὅθεν  
 90 ἐκπεπτώκαμεν· ὁ δὲ φαίνεται καὶ φυλάξας ταύτην ἀρρύπτωτον καὶ τῆς τοῦ  
 Θεοῦ δόξης διὰ τοῦτο τετυχηκώς, εὐδην ὡς ἐπὶ συμφέροντι πάντως τούτῳ  
 ἡ τελευτῇ. τὸ δ' ὅμως ὀδυρεσθαι ἐφ' οἷς ἐκείνῳ τὸ συμφέρον ὑπὸ προνοίας  
 ὠκονομήθη οὔτε δίκαιον οὔτε λυσιτελές.  
 (8) Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων γεγεννημένα οὐκ εἰς ἔπαινον ἐκείνων καὶ  
 δόξαν τυγχάνει μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τοῖς εὐσεβέσι τῶν μετιόντων παραδείγμα  
 95 γίνεται καὶ προτροπὴ περὶ τὸν βίον οὐ(κ) ἀγενής, ὥσπερ τοῖς ζωγράφοις τὰ  
 ἀρχέτυπα τῶν εἰκόνων ἐὰν πρὸς αὐτὰ βλέπωσιν, ἀναμνήσθητι παρακαλῶ  
 τῶν ἡδὴ ῥηθησομένων. ἔσονται γὰρ καὶ αὐτὰ οὐ μικρὸν πρὸς τὸ συμβάν  
 παραμύθιον.  
 fol. 4 (9) Τῇ μακαρίᾳ Κλεοπάτρᾳ τὸν τῆς|| χηρείας ὑποστάση ζυγὸν παῖς κατελήφθη  
 100 μονογενὴς τῇ οἰκείᾳ ὅψει τὴν τῆς μητρὸς χηρείαν παραμυθούμενος, ὑπὲρ οὗ  
 μὲν ἡ Κλεοπάτρα πολλὰ προσφέρουσα τῷ Θεῷ, πολλὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῷ τότε  
 χαριζομένη ὥστε τὸν παῖδα τοῖς ἀξιωματικοῖς ἐγγραφεῖναι τοῦ βασιλέως.  
 ἔγνω καὶ τινα τῶν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας τελειωθέντων ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ  
 πάντα προσηκόντως ποιῆσαι ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας καὶ φυλακῆς τοῦ παιδός, ἂντ'  
 105 ἄλλης ἰατρείας τὴν τοῦ μάρτυρος παρουσίαν ἐπιστῆναι σπουδάζουσα τῷ παιδί.  
 κατ' ἐκείνο δὲ καιρὸν καὶ ὁ μάρτυς Οὐάρος τοῖς μαρτυρικοῖς ἀγῶσι τελειω-  
 θείς σὺν ἡδονῇ λαμβάνεται παρ' αὐτῆς, καὶ νὰς ἐγείρεται τῷ μάρτυρι  
 φιλοτιμῶς, καὶ πάντα ἡ Κλεοπάτρα ποιεῖ ἃ πρὸς δόξαν τοῦ μάρτυρος ἦσαν  
 καὶ τῆς ἰδίας πίστεως σύμβολα ἐναργῆ συνεφαπτομένου ταύτῃ καὶ τοῦ  
 110 παιδός. ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν θείαν μυσταγωγίαν καὶ τὴν καθίδρυσιν τοῦ ναοῦ,  
 νόσφ' ἀκόχως ὁ παῖς γεγονώς θάττα ἡ λόγος νεκρὸς τῇ μητρὶ καθορᾶται.  
 ἡ δέ· τί μὲν οὐ λέγουσα; τί δὲ οὐ ποιοῦσα; τί δὲ οὐ πάσχουσα; ὀνειδιστικῶς

- προσχοῦσα τῷ λειψάνῳ τοῦ μάρτυρος ὡς οἰχομένων αὐτῇ τῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ  
 fol. 4v ἐλπίδων εἰς ὕπνον εὐθὺς τρέπεται καὶ ὁρᾷ τὸν παῖδα μετὰ τοῦ μάρ|τυρος  
 115 χρυσῷ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς στεφάνοις κεκοσμημένους καὶ δόξῃ ἀρρήτῳ περι-  
 αστράπτοντας καὶ ἀλλήλοις συνηδομένους· τὴν δέον διωπνισθεῖσαν μήτε  
 θρηνηῖσαι πλέον τὸν παῖδα· ἀλλὰ καὶ χάριτας ὁμολογεῖν τῷ Θεῷ τῆς τοῦ  
 παιδὸς ἐκδημίας ἀλλαξαμένου τῆς ἐνταῦθα παροικίας τὴν οὐράνιον βασιλείαν.  
 (10) Καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ μάρτυρος δὲ Λογγίνου τοῦ ἐκατοντάρχου γέγραπται βίῳ,  
 120 ὡς γυνὴ τις τῶν ὁρμωμένων ἀπὸ Συρίας σὺν τῇ ἀποβολῇ τοῦ συζύγου,  
 πρῶθεισα τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς καὶ ἐπὶ παιδί μόνῳ τὰς ἐλπίδας σαλεύουσα τούτῳ  
 ὀδηγῶ χρησαμένη τοῖς ἱεροῖς τρόποις τοῖς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπιφοιτᾷ, τῇ  
 τῶν ἱερῶν προσκυνήσει τόπων οἰομένη θεραπείαν εὑρεῖν τῆς τυφλώσεως.  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης ὁ παῖς νόσφ' ἀκατεργασθεὶς τελευτᾷ, ἀπαραμύθητον συμφορὰν  
 125 τῇ γηραιᾷ καὶ χήρᾳ καὶ πεπηρωμένη μητρὶ πάντως καταλιπών. ἡ δὲ ἅπαντα  
 παριδοῦσα τὰ ἄλλα μόνῃν ἐθρήνει τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ παιδός. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτη  
 καθ' ὕπνου ἐπιστάς ὁ μάρτυς Λογγίνος ἐπισκῆπτει μὲν αὐτῇ τὴν τῆς τιμίας  
 αὐτοῦ κεφαλῆς εὐρεσιν ἐν κοπρίᾳ καλυπτομένης· χαρίζεται δὲ εὐθὺς τὴν  
 fol. 5 ὑγίειαν|| τῶν ὀμμάτων· δείκνυσιν δὲ τὸν παῖδα λαμπρότητος ἀρρήτου καὶ  
 130 στεφάνων ἡξιωμένον παρὰ Θεοῦ. ἡ δὲ σὺν τῇ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν θεραπείᾳ καὶ  
 περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ πληροφορηθεῖσα φωνὰς ἠφίει χαριστηρίου Θεῷ καὶ τῷ  
 τούτου μάρτυρι τῆς περὶ τὸν παῖδα εὐεργεσίας.  
 (11) Ὡν δὴ πάντων ἀναμνησθεῖς, κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, — ἀναμνήσεως γάρ, οὐ  
 διδασκαλίας τὸν λόγον τὸν περὶ τούτου ποιούμεθα, — μήτε ἀθύρει ἐπὶ τῷ  
 135 συμβάντι, τοῦτο γὰρ αὐθις παρακαλῶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ χάριτας ὁμολογεῖ Θεῷ καὶ  
 τῷ τούτου μεγαλομάρτυρι Δημητρίῳ· τῷ μὲν ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ σοῦ κράτους ψυχὴ  
 καθαρῶτα προσηνήθη αὐτῷ τῆς τούτου βασιλείας ἡξιωμένη καὶ ὑπὲρ  
 ἡμῶν πρεσβεύουσα, τῷ δὲ τούτου μεγαλομάρτυρι Δημητρίῳ ὅτι συγχωρεῖ  
 τούτῳ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ συναγάζεται καὶ συμπανηγυρίζει καὶ τῆς μαρτυρικῆς  
 140 ἐχόμενος δεξιᾶς, ὡς ὁ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, τῷ θρόνῳ συμπαρίσταται τοῦ  
 Θεοῦ. ὡς τοίνυν τῷ μεγαλομάρτυρι Δημητρίῳ οὕτω δὴ καὶ τῷδε τῷ βασιλεῖ  
 θρήνοι μὲν οὐδαμῶς προσήκουσι παρ' ἡμῶν οὐδὲ δάκρυα οὐδὲ κοπετοὶ οὐδὲ  
 τὸ συμφορὰν ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευτὴν, ἀλλ' ὀμνῶμεν μᾶλλον καὶ  
 fol. 5v πανηγύρεις καὶ τελεταί. οἱ γὰρ τῶν αὐτῶν ἡξιώ|θησαν γερῶν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ,  
 145 τούτους δίκαιον καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν τῶν ἴσων ἐπιτυγχάνειν.  
 (12) Ὁ δὲ πάντα πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον οἰκονομῶν Θεὸς καὶ ταῖς ὀδυνομέναις  
 ψυχαῖς τὴν δυνατὴν παραμυθίαν προσάγων παραμυθήσαιο τὴν κραταιὰν  
 καὶ ἁγίαν βασιλείαν σου τρόποις οἷς οἶδε μόνος αὐτός. ἡμεῖς γὰρ τὰ εἰρημένα  
 ταῦτα εἰρήκαμεν ὅσον τὸ ἡμέτερον καὶ μόνον χρέος ἐνδείξασθαι. ὁ δὲ τῶν  
 150 παρακλήσεων χορηγὸς καὶ ἀξιῶσαι τὸ σὸν κράτος μετὰ τῆς ἐπιγείου ταύτης  
 βασιλείας καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ τὴν οὐράνιον ἐκείνην καὶ ἄλυτον βασιλείαν, ὃ καὶ  
 γένοιτο πρεσβείαις τῆς Παναγίας μου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων. ἀμήν.

## THE DEPOSITION OF THE PATRIARCH JOHN CALECAS

During the course of the year 1346 the Empress of Byzantium, Anne Palaeologina, and her once indispensable counsellor, the Patriarch John XIV Calecas, came to the parting of the ways. Desirous of ending the civil war, the Empress wanted to effect a reconciliation with John Cantacuzenus, who had himself crowned emperor at Adrianople in May 1346<sup>1</sup>). Such a reconciliation, however, would have involved the rejection of Calecas, who had excommunicated Cantacuzenus at the beginning of his revolt. It would also have meant the acceptance of Gregory Palamas and his teachings, strongly supported by Cantacuzenus and just as strongly opposed by the Patriarch. In fact, a group of Palamite bishops, gathered together on the occasion of Cantacuzenus's coronation, had declared Calecas excommunicated and deposed. In Constantinople, meanwhile, the Empress Anne sought some pretext for entering into conflict with the Patriarch. This had been presented to her when, contrary to her express wish, Calecas ordained deacon Gregory Acindynus, the *bête noire* of the Palamites. The Empress also adopted a more lenient attitude towards the proponents of the new doctrines: she allowed Palamas to send her a cleverly worded defense of his teachings and in September 1346 she received a letter from the Palamite prelates in the capital denouncing the Patriarch and demanding his expulsion. It was not long before Anne decided to have the Patriarch deposed.

On the second of February 1347 in the imperial palace Anne, with her young son, the Emperor John V Palaeologus, presided over a gathering of about ten bishops together with the Protos of Mt Athos, a number of monks, the senators and other civil dignitaries<sup>2</sup>). John Calecas not only refused to

<sup>1</sup>) This brief account is based chiefly on M. Jugie, Palamite (Controverse), *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, XI/2 (1932), col. 1777—1818, esp. 1785—1789, and Jean Meyendorff, Introduction à l'Étude de Grégoire Palamas, Paris, 1959, p. 105—130.

<sup>2</sup>) This is stated in the tome issued by the synod, cited below. Cf. also Ioannis Cantacuzeni imperatoris historiarum libri IV, ed. L. Schopen, 3 vols., Bonn 1828—1832, Bk. III, ch. 98: vol. II, p. 604; Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina Historia, ed. L. Schopen, 3 vols., Bonn 1829—1855, Bk. XV, ch. 9: vol. II, p. 783. The date is given in a short notice from an Athenian ms., ed. V. Laurent, Notes de chronographie et d'histoire byzantines, *Echos d'Orient* 36 (1937) 157—174; text, p. 169.

appear before this assembly but, aware of what was to come, had already launched another anathema against Palamas and his adherents, including the rebellious bishops who had recently suppressed his name in the diptychs. The principal complaint against the Patriarch was that he had persecuted Palamas and had supported and encouraged Gregory Acindynus in attacking him. The synod convoked by the Empress, then, drew up a lengthy tome repeating the former condemnation of Barlaam of Calabria, expressly condemning Acindynus and declaring the Patriarch John Calecas deposed.

That evening the Empress celebrated her victory over the Patriarch with a sumptuous banquet in the palace for the members of the synod. The festivities continued to a very late hour when, all of a sudden, a disturbing rumor was heard — Cantacuzenus had entered the city<sup>3)</sup>. Panic-stricken, Anne sought assistance from the Genoese of Galata, but it was of no avail against the palace guards who had already gone over to the usurper. A few days later (8 February) the reconciliation she had desired on her own terms was forced upon her by the victor on his terms.

Within a week or two the official text of the tome of the synod held by Anne was composed and promulgated<sup>4)</sup>. It was then signed by the bishops who had taken part in the synod as well as by those who had entered the city in the suite of Cantacuzenus. In March the newly recognized Emperor issued a prostagma confirming the tome and the deposition of Calecas<sup>5)</sup>. In May or soon afterwards the bishops named by the new Patriarch Isidore also affixed their signatures. The synodical tome and the imperial decree were then transcribed into the official patriarchal acts, now the *codex Vindobonensis historicus graecus* 47 and 48<sup>6)</sup>.

Some time later several passages of the tome were erased and the two folia immediately following which contained additional signatures and the prostagma of Cantacuzenus were simply cut out of the book. The effaced passages are those which expressly refer to the deposition of the Patriarch, so that it is clear that whoever made these erasures and excisions wanted to protect the memory of Calecas by removing all evidence of his deposition from the official records of the patriarchate. This person, undoubtedly an official or a functionary of the patriarchal curia, must have defaced the document

<sup>3)</sup> According to Gregoras, loc. cit., the prelates were still at table when Cantacuzenus entered the city. This took place early the following morning, at the seventh hour of the night: Laurent, op. cit., p. 169.

<sup>4)</sup> Cantacuzenus himself relates that the redaction of the tome took place after his entrance into Constantinople: *Historiarum* Bk. IV, ch. 3: vol. III, p. 24, 1—10. This seems to be confirmed by the references to his imperial dignity in the tome itself.

<sup>5)</sup> Edited in Migne, PG 151, 769 D—772 C.

<sup>6)</sup> Edited by F. Miklosich — J. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi Sacra et Profana*, vols. I and II, Vienna 1860—1862.

not long after the tome was inserted into the acts or, at least, not long after the death of Calecas on 29 December 1347. Before he could do this, however, copies were made of the tome, the complete text of which is found in the *codex Vindobonensis juridicus graecus* 7, fol. 207<sup>v</sup>—212<sup>v</sup>; and in *codex Athonensis Dionysiou* 147, fol. 263—272. Although scholars have been aware of this and have employed the complete text for some time<sup>7)</sup>, the passages removed from the official acts have not yet been published. It is the purpose of this brief article simply to present those missing portions.

The erasures in the *cod. Vindob. hist. gr.* 47 have been so thoroughly made that it is impossible, even with an ultra-violet lamp, to make out more than an occasional letter. In supplying the missing passages I have first indicated the folio number of the *hist. gr.* 47 (abbreviated to *hist.*), then that of the *cod. Vindob. jurid. gr.* 7 (*jurid.*) and that of the *cod. Athon. Dionysiou* 147 (*Dion.*); these are followed by the page numbers of the two editions of the *hist.*<sup>8)</sup>. For the text itself I have given a few preceding words from the *hist.*, followed by the unerased text of the *jurid.* enclosed in [], concluding with the subsequent words of the *hist.*

#### The Amended Text

Fol. 115—116<sup>v</sup> of the *hist.* contains a document of the Patriarch John Calecas of November 1344 in which he notified the monks of Mt Athos of the synod's decision regarding Palamas and Barlaam<sup>9)</sup>. At the bottom of fol. 116<sup>v</sup> three lines have been erased which seem to begin with the words: ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος γράμματος πᾶς τις ὅν . . . The tome of 2 February 1347 begins at the top of fol. 117 (MM 243; PG 1273 D—1274 A) with the title: + Συνοδικὸς τόμος ἐπικυρῶν τὸν ἐπ' ἐλέγχῳ καὶ καταδίκῃ τῶν τοῦ Βαρλαάμ καὶ Ἀκινδύνου δογμάτων πρότερον τόμον, καὶ σὺν Ἀκινδύνῳ πάλιν . . . The rest of the title has been erased but it is continued in *Dion.*, fol. 263, as follows: . . . ἐξελέγχων καὶ καθαιρῶν τὸν ὕστερον ὁμόφρονα καὶ προστάτην αὐτοῦ γενόμενον πατριάρχην. *Jurid.*, fol. 207<sup>v</sup>, states simply: Τόμος ὁ γεγινώς ἐπὶ τῇ καθαιρέσει τοῦ πατριαρχεύσαντος Ἰωάννου τοῦ Καλέκα.

Then follows a lengthy and decidedly partisan account of the Palamite controversy which stresses the support given by Calecas to Acindynus, the successor of Barlaam in the conflict against Palamas and his followers. After complaining that Calecas, despite the warning of the Empress, had ordained

<sup>7)</sup> E. g. Jugie and Meyendorff, op. cit., and L. Petit, *Les évêques de Thessalonique, Echos d'Orient* 5 (1902) 90—97, esp. 92, n. 2.

<sup>8)</sup> Miklosich — Müller, *Acta et Diplomata* I, no. 109, p. 243—255 (cited as MM with the page number); reprinted in PG 152, 1273 D—1284 B.

<sup>9)</sup> MM/I, no. 107, p. 238—242.

Acindynus deacon and that he had also composed a number of works against Palamas, the tome continues (*hist.* 119; *jurid.* 209<sup>v</sup>; *Dion.* 267<sup>v</sup>; MM 249; PG 1278 C): ἐλάνθανε δὲ καὶ τούτων τὰ πλείω ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τε, καθάπερ εἴρηται [καὶ τὴν θεοστεφῆ βασιλίδα] ὥς δ' ἡ κατὰ Θεσσαλονίκην . . .

The Patriarch then planned to nominate a follower of Acindynus to the see of Thessalonica, but the Empress reproached him for this and warned him not to attempt such a step. (*Hist.* 119; *jurid.* 210; *Dion.* 267<sup>v</sup>—268; MM 249; PG 1278 D.) . . . ὥς δυσσεβῶν συνοδικῶς ἀναπεφηνότων. [ὁ δὲ βιβλίον οἰκείον αὐτῇ προδείκνυσιν, εἰς ἑαυτοῦ δῆθεν δικαίωσιν. ἐν ᾧ βιβλίῳ τὰ τῶν ἀντιθέτων τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ συγγράμματα καὶ ἡ τούτου πρὸς ταῦτα στοργὴ περιφανὴς ἐστὶν ἄγαν. ἀλλὰ τούτων ἐνταῦθα παρ' αὐτοῦ τελούμενων οἱ μετὰ τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ ἐκτὸς τῆς Μεγαλοπόλεως διατρίβοντες, ὃ τε ἁγιώτατος πατριάρχης Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὰς οἰκείας ἐκκλησίας εὐρισκόμενοι ἱερώτατοι μητροπολίται τε καὶ ἐπίσκοποι συνεληλυθότες καὶ σύνοδον ἱερὰν συγκροτήσαντες καθαιρετικὸν τόμον τοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμῶντος συγγραψάμενοι, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὰς ἄλλας αὐτοῦ ἁθέσμους<sup>10)</sup> καὶ κοινοβλαβεῖς πράξεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀκίνδυνον καὶ τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν κοινωνίαν καὶ συμφωνίαν, καθαιρέσει τελεία καθυποβάλλουσιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Μεγαλόπολιν ταύτην ἐν τοῖς ἰδίῳις κελλίοις σχολάζοντες ἱερώτατοι μητροπολίται, ὁ Ἐφέσου, ὁ Κυζίκου, ὁ Ἀλανίας, ὁ Χριστουπόλεως, ὁ Ἀπρω, ὁ Λοπαδίου, γράψαντες πρὸς τὴν εἰρημένην κραταιὰν καὶ ἁγίαν ἡμῶν κυρίαν καὶ δέσποιναν, τὸν αὐτὸν πατριάρχην οὐ μόνον διὰ τὰς ἄλλας αὐτοῦ ἁθέσμους καὶ παρανόμους καὶ κοινοβλαβεῖς πράξεις] ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἁθετῆσαι . . .

The tome then continues with the accusation that the Patriarch ordained and consecrated as bishops the disciples of Barlaam despite the repeated admonitions of the Empress, who was finally compelled to convoke the present synod. Before this gathering the Patriarch's book attacking the teachings of Palamas was read. (*Hist.* 119<sup>v</sup>; *jurid.* 210<sup>v</sup>; *Dion.* 269; MM 250; PG 1279 C—D.) . . . τοῦ Παλαμᾶ δηλονότι [καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ μοναχῶν, φανερώς καὶ τούτῳ χωρεῖ. ἀκρίτως, ὃ τῆς ἀναισχύντου ψευδορρη]μοσύνης, καταδικασθῆναι λέγων . . .<sup>11)</sup>.

The various arguments of Calecas against Palamas are then discussed and he is accused of adhering to "the impious teachings" of Barlaam and Acindynus. (*Hist.* 120<sup>v</sup>; *jurid.* 211<sup>v</sup>; *Dion.* 270<sup>v</sup>; MM 252; PG 1281 C.) . . . καὶ πολυτρόπως ἔργοις τε καὶ λόγοις καὶ γράμμασι [συνηγορεῖν καὶ συνιστάναι σπεύδων ὁ ῥηθεὶς πατριάρχης, χάριτι Χριστοῦ τῆς εὐσεβείας υπερμαχοῦντες ἡμεῖς] καὶ ἀκριβῆ καὶ προσήκουσαν . . .

(*Hist.* 121; *jurid.* 211<sup>v</sup>; *Dion.* 271; MM 253; PG 1281 D.) . . . λογίων ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ὀλίγους, [αὐτὸν μὲν τοῦτον τὸν ὡς μὴ ὥφελε χρηματίζαντα πατριάρχην, ὡς

<sup>10)</sup> ἁθέσμους, *Dion.*

<sup>11)</sup> This passage has been cut out of the manuscript.

εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ καίρια τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐμπαροινήσαντα, καὶ τὸν φύλακα καὶ συνήγορον καὶ βεβαιωτὴν τῶν εὐσεβῶν δογμάτων καταλύσαντα τόμον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν] ἐκκηρύκτους ἐγγράφως καὶ ἀποτετημένους . . .

(*Hist.* 121; *jurid.* 212; *Dion.* 271; MM 253; PG 1282 A.) . . . καὶ ἁθέσμους ἀποβαλλόμενον [ἀπογυμνοῦμεν πάσης ἱερατικῆς ἀξίας καὶ λειτουργίας καὶ καθαιρέσει διηνεκεῖ τοῦτον καθυποβάλλομεν.] εἰ δὲ μὴ μεταμεληθεῖ . . .

The tome then repeats the former condemnation of Barlaam and expressly condemns Acindynus and those who hold his teachings. The synod promises to restore those who shall repent to their former dignities and concludes its tome with praise and defense of Palamas and his followers. A list of signatures is then appended (*hist.* 121<sup>v</sup>; *jurid.* 212; *Dion.* 272<sup>v</sup>; MM 255; PG 1284 B): . . . + ὁ ταπεινὸς μητροπολίτης πάσης Ἀλανίας καὶ Σωτηριουπόλεως καὶ ὑπέρτιμος, Λαυρέντιος. [ὁ ταπεινὸς μητροπολίτης Διδυμοτείχου καὶ ὑπέρτιμος<sup>12)</sup>, Θεόκλητος. ὁ ταπεινὸς μητροπολίτης Μηθύνης<sup>13)</sup> καὶ ὑπέρτιμος, Μαλαχίας. ὁ ταπεινὸς μητροπολίτης Ἀπρω<sup>14)</sup>, Χαρίτων, καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐπέχων τῶν Εὐχαιτών. ὁ ταπεινὸς μητροπολίτης Μαδύτων καὶ ὑπέρτιμος, Ἰσαάκ. ὁ ταπεινὸς μητροπολίτης Ῥωσίου καὶ ὑπέρτιμος, Μεθόδιος. ὁ ταπεινὸς μητροπολίτης Σηλυβρίας καὶ ὑπέρτιμος, Ἡσαΐας. ὁ ταπεινὸς μητροπολίτης Πομπιουπόλεως, Γρηγόριος καὶ ὑπέρτιμος.

The following note is added by *Dion.* fol. 272<sup>v</sup>: εἶχε καὶ ἐπισθεν ἑτέραν ὑπογραφήν· ὁ ταπεινὸς ὑποψήφιος Μονεμβασίας, Ἰσίδωρος. τὸ παρὸν ἔσον ἀντιβληθὲν καὶ κατὰ πάντα εὐρεθὲν ἐξισάζον τῷ πρωτοτύπῳ αὐτοῦ, ὑπεγράφη παρ' ἐμοῦ δι' ἀσφαλίαν. + ὁ ταπεινὸς μητροπολίτης Φιλαδελφείας, Μακάριος.

<sup>12)</sup> καὶ ὑπέρτιμος, om. *Dion.*

<sup>13)</sup> Μηθύνης, *Dion.*

<sup>14)</sup> καὶ ὑπέρτιμος, add. *Dion.*

# THE DEPOSITION AND RESTORATION OF PATRIARCH MATTHEW I, 1402-1403

Throughout Byzantine history the government of the church was invariably affected by that of the state, and a change on the imperial throne very frequently meant a change on the patriarchal throne of Constantinople. Clearly related to political and dynastic strife, for example, were the removal and the installation of Callistus I and Philotheus Kokkinos in the period from 1350 to 1376 when each man occupied the patriarchal throne twice. The assumption of power by Andronicus IV in 1376 brought about another change; Philotheus moved out of the patriarchate and Macarius moved in<sup>1</sup>. With the restoration of John V and Manuel II three years later, it was the turn of Macarius to depart. But during the brief usurpation of Andronicus' son, John VII, from April to September of 1390, Macarius once again became patriarch, a position he retained until March of the following year. When he was succeeded by Anthony IV, matters seem to have returned to normal. The three-month pontificate of Callistus II was followed by the election of the metropolitan of Cyzicus, Matthew, in November 1397. It has generally been assumed that he remained on the patriarchal throne until his death in 1410. In actual fact, however, he was deposed in 1402-1403 and was reinstated in the summer of 1403. This brief article aims simply at clarifying this point and at endeavouring to establish the chronology and to indicate some of the factors involved.

Almost all of our information regarding the deposition and the restoration of Patriarch Matthew derive from two as yet unpublished documents: (1) the Synodal Tome of August 1409 which excommunicated Matthew of Medeia and Macarius of Ancyra, and which is found in the *cod. Vat. gr. 1858*, fol. 28-42<sup>v</sup> (hereafter cited as *Tome of 1409* with the folio number); and (2) the incredibly complicated and confused apology (and attack on the

<sup>1</sup> The relations between Andronicus and Philotheus are discreetly alluded to in the Synodal Tome of 1409: *cod. Vat. gr. 1858*, fol. 36<sup>v</sup>: οὐδὲ ὁ ἀοιδιμος καὶ μακαρίτης βασιλεὺς καὶ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ κύρ Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ Παλαιολόγος ἔπραξε τι περὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἢ περὶ τὸν ἀγιώτατον καὶ ἀοιδιμον πατριάρχην κύρ Φιλόθεον, ἀφ' οὗπερ ἴσως εἶχε καὶ τινα παραλύψαι, ἀποδημιῶντος τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ... Ἰωάννου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου περὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἄλλοτε δὲ περὶ τὴν Ὀδηγρίαν.

patriarch) written by Macarius of Ancyra probably late in 1405 or 1406, which is found in the *cod. Paris. gr. 1379* and *1378* (hereafter cited from the *cod. 1379* as Macarius, *Apology* with the folio number).

The hatred and the intrigues of the bishops Matthew of Medeia and Macarius of Ancyra against the Patriarch Matthew are well known, so that a detailed account would unduly lengthen these pages<sup>2</sup>. Not only did they direct their hostility against the patriarch, but also against the Emperor Manuel II, whose nephew and rival, John VII, they seem to have favored<sup>3</sup>. Once more in the history of Byzantium the occupancy of the imperial and the patriarchal thrones would be closely connected. It may well have been in an effort to forestall any action against the patriarch that Manuel II had Macarius accompany him on his long journey through Western Europe.

When Manuel sailed from Constantinople in December 1399, he left the city under the rule of his nephew, John VII. According to Patriarch Matthew, John made no attempt to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs for some time, but all of sudden a conflict flared up; certain trouble-makers took advantage of Manuel's absence to attack the patriarch and, as a result of their accusations, the emperor (John VII) expelled him from his office<sup>4</sup>. The date of this expulsion is uncertain; the extant acts of the patriarchate only go up to January 1402<sup>5</sup>. Since the documents to that date were issued in the name of the patriarch, and since there is no indication in any of the sources that a new patriarch was appointed in Matthew's place, one may reasonably assume that his expulsion took place after January 1402. It undoubtedly occurred before the defeat of the Turkish Emir Bajezid at Ankara on 28 July 1402, for the synod which deposed Matthew, as will be

<sup>2</sup> Cf. L. Petit, "Macaire d'Ancyre", *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* IX, 2, 1441-1443; V. Laurent, "Un paradoxe théologique: La forme de la consécration épiscopale selon le métropolitain d'Ancyre Macaire", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 13 (1947) 551-561; H. Hunger, "Das Testament des Patriarchen Matthaios I. (1397-1410)", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 51 (1958) 288-309.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. G. Dennis, "Four Unknown Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus", *Byzantion* 36 (1966) 35-40.

<sup>4</sup> Hunger, *op. cit.*, p. 300. This assertion of Patriarch Matthew is confirmed by the Synodal Tome of 1409, fol. 29-29<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. F. Miklosich — J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca mediæ aevi sacra et profana*, II (Vienna 1862), no. 687, p. 570. The fragmentary and nearly illegible final folia of the *cod. Vindob. hist. gr. 48* seem to add no further information.

shown below, was held at a time when the Turkish siege of Constantinople was so intense that no bishops could enter the city. As late as 1 June 1402 John VII wrote to the King of England that the Byzantine capital was in imminent danger of capture<sup>6</sup>. The expulsion of Matthew from the patriarchate, then, most probably took place during the first half of the year 1402.

During 1402-1403 four synods were held in Constantinople; the first three against the patriarch, while the fourth restored him to his dignity. The following pages will attempt to piece together what can be known about those four synods. Caution, however, must be employed in utilizing the not unbiased writings of Macarius of Ancyra, our principal source in this investigation.

*The first Synod.* While John VII may have expelled Matthew from the patriarchate by himself, he made certain that the act would be formally decreed or at least approved by an ecclesiastical tribunal. As mentioned above, the date of this gathering must have been in the first half of 1402, since other bishops were unable to enter the city because of the siege<sup>7</sup>. Matthew of Medeia drew up a list of accusations against the patriarch and, in concert with three other bishops, expelled him from the patriarchate<sup>8</sup>. The other three bishops were those of Gothia, Cyzicus and Severinus<sup>9</sup>. This synod, if such it may be called, was convoked or at least approved by

<sup>6</sup> *Royal and Historical Letters During the Reign of Henry IV*, ed. F. C. Hingeston, I (London 1860), doc. 42, p. 101-103.

<sup>7</sup> Macarius, *Apology*, f. 33v: μήτε πλέον τούτων ὧδε εὐρισκομένων καὶ τινος μὴ συνελθόντος μήτε δυνατοῦ ὄντος διὰ τὴν τοῦ καιροῦ ἀνάγκην τινὰς ἐκ τῶν ἔξωθεν συνελθεῖν.

<sup>8</sup> *Tome of 1409*, f. 29v: ὁ δὲ γε χρηματίσας Μηδείας, ἔρμαιον ὥσαντι λαβὼν τὴν ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἀποδημίαν τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως, λίβελλον κατηγοριῶν συνθεὶς κατὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου ἔξωθει τοῦτον τοῦ θρόνου ἀδίκως καὶ παρὰ πᾶσαν τάξιν κανονικὴν, συνεργούς ἔχων εἰς τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλους τρεῖς τῶν ἀρχιερέων τῆς αὐτῆς, ὧς φασιν, αὐτῷ κεραμείας.

<sup>9</sup> Macarius, *Apology*, f. 72v, in which he cites from the fourth synod, that which restored Matthew to the patriarchate: τεττάρων γὰρ ὄντων ἀρχιερέων τῶν κατὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου τὴν ἀδικον ψῆφον ἀπενεγκάντων... καὶ τῶν μὲν δύο προσελθόντων τῷ πατριάρχει καὶ συγγνώμην ἐξαιτησάμενων, ὃν ὁ μὲν Γοθίας ἐν μετανοίᾳ ἀπέδωκε τὸ χρεὼν, ὁ δὲ γε Κυζίκου ἔτι περιῶν τῷ πατριάρχει τῷ ἁγίῳ κοινωνικός ἐστι κατὰ πάντα. ὁ Ἀγκύρας ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἐπανελθὼν προσετέθη τοῖς λοιποῖς δύο ἀρχιερεῦσι, τῷ τε Σεβερῆνου καὶ τῷ Μηδείας.

John VII<sup>10</sup>. His action in this case may very well have had something to do with Manuel's anger against him on his return from the West. At any rate, this small assembly declared in a synodal tome the deposition of the patriarch<sup>11</sup>. They also added an injunction that Matthew was to retain his priestly rank only on the condition that he cleared his dwelling of the evil repute surrounding it and drove out certain young men (apparently also of evil repute)<sup>12</sup>. Possibly there is some relation between this unexpected clause and the accusation that Matthew had allowed the monastery of Charsianeitou to degenerate into a place of ill fame<sup>13</sup>.

*The Second Synod.* Since the Turkish siege had permitted only a few bishops to attend the first synod, it was felt that the deposition of the patriarch should be confirmed by a larger assembly and, according to Macarius of Ancyra, some fourteen bishops met and unanimously agreed with the decision of that earlier synod<sup>14</sup>. This gathering, then, must have occurred after the lifting of the siege in July 1402 and before Manuel's return in June 1403.

*The Third Synod.* Almost immediately on returning from Western Europe, Manuel first tried to reconcile the dissident bishops with the patriarch, and

<sup>10</sup> *Tome of 1409*, f. 36v. In reply to Macarius' assertion that the synod which had deposed the patriarch was canonical the synod of 1409 stated: τὸ δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ παρὰ βασιλέως συνήχθη ὑπὸ πατέρα τυγχάνοντος τὸν κραταῖον καὶ ἁγιον ἡμῶν αὐθέντην καὶ βασιλέα· ᾧτινι οὐκ ἦν ἐπ' ἀδείαν ἀποδημοῦντος τοῦ πατρὸς τε καὶ αὐτοκράτορος σύνοδον συναθροῖσθαι καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας μετακινεῖν.

<sup>11</sup> Macarius, *Apology*, f. 11: ἤτις α' σύνοδος μετὰ τὸ καθελεῖν αὐτὸν τοῦ τε θρόνου καὶ τῆς τιμῆς διὰ τόμου συνοδικοῦ κανονικοῦ.... Macarius repeats the same on f. 10 and f. 61.

<sup>12</sup> Macarius, *Apology*, f. 11: ... ἐπιφέρει μετὰ καὶ προσδιορισμοῦ τὴν δὲ ἰδικὴν αὐτῷ ἱερωσύνην οὕτω λέγοντες ἔχειν αὐτὸν εἴπερ τὸ κελλίον αὐτοῦ διακαθάρῃ τῆς πονηρᾶς φήμης καὶ τοῦ πορνοβοσκεῖν ἀποστῇ καὶ τοὺς νέους ἐξελάσας ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ διὰ μοναχῶν γερόντων καὶ εὐλαβῶν ἐξυπηρετούμενος φαίνοιτο, ὃν δὴ προσδιορισμὸν μὴ φυλάξας οὐδὲ ἱερεὺς ἐστί.

<sup>13</sup> Macarius, *Apology*, cod. Paris. gr. 1378, f. 28: ὁ δὲ [πατριάρχου] καὶ τὴν... θέλειν μονὴν τοῦ Χαρσιανείτου ὡς ἐπωροφυλάκιον κατέστησε, καὶ τὸ δόσφημον παρίειμι εἰπεῖν ὡς ἐγνωσμένον ὃν τοῖς πᾶσι.

<sup>14</sup> Macarius, *Apology*, f. 11: ...πατριάρχην ὑπὸ δύο σιγνῶδων τοπικῶν ἐκβληθέντα τοῦ τε θρόνου καὶ τῆς τιμῆς.... *Ibid.*, f. 34: καὶ β' σύνοδος ἐπισκόπων ἐδ' πάντων ὁμοφωνησάντων, καὶ τὸ διὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἵσως βωτέρημα τῆς α' συνόδου ἀνεπλήρωσεν ἢ β' σύνοδος.



after listening to them, he himself restored Matthew to his former dignity<sup>15</sup>. Indeed, one of the constantly recurring complaints of Macarius of Ancyra was that the patriarch had been restored by the secular authority contrary to the canons of the church<sup>16</sup>. According to his version, Manuel ordered the bishops to reinstate Matthew, and to their reply that there would first have to be a synodal examination, the emperor angrily burst out: "If anyone regards him as patriarch he regards me as emperor, and whoever does not regard him as patriarch does not regard me as emperor"<sup>17</sup>. Macarius, at any rate, claimed that Manuel issued a decree (*horismos*) convoking a synod, apparently under the direction of the bishop of Gothia, which met in the residence of Matthew of Medeia; sixteen bishops attended, complemented by the written decisions of two others<sup>18</sup>. A list of the participants is given by Macarius, who seems to have forgotten to include himself to round out the number to eighteen<sup>19</sup>. This apparently hastily assembled group not only confirmed the deposition of the patriarch decreed by the two previous synods, but went to the extent of excommunicating him and issuing a synodal tome to that effect, which they sent to the emperor (Manuel II)<sup>20</sup>. This tome

<sup>15</sup> Macarius, *Apology*, f. 10, citing from the decree of the synod which restored Matthew to the patriarchate: ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἐπανελθὼν ἠδύνατο μὲν αὐτίκα τοῦτον εἰς τὸν Ἱδιον ἀποκαταστήσαι θρόνον..., οὐκ ἐποίησε δὲ τοῦτο εὐθὺς πρὶν ἂν ἀπόπειραν ποιήσῃται τῶν ἀρχιερέων ὡς ἂν καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰρηνεύσῃ καὶ διαλλάξῃ μετὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου, καὶ ὅπως ἔως μὲν λόγους ἤκουεν ὑποθέσεως παρ' αὐτῶν....

<sup>16</sup> Macarius, *Apology*, f. 11, 18/1, 61, *et passim*.

<sup>17</sup> Macarius, *Apology*, f. 18/1: καὶ γοῦν ὥσπερ ἐπανελθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἐπεὶ ὥρισε πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς ἵνα ὑπάγωσιν αὐτὸν ἀνεξετάστως εἰς τὸ πατριαρχεῖον, οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίθησαν γενέσθαι τοῦτο εἰ θεήσοι μετὰ τὴν κανονικὴν ἐξέτασιν, ὡργίσθη αὐτοῖς καὶ μετὰ πολλοὺς λόγους βάρους προσέθηκε καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι: "εἴ τις ἔχει αὐτὸν πατριάρχην ἔχει καὶ ἐμὲ βασιλέα, καὶ ὅστις οὐκ ἔχει αὐτὸν πατριάρχην οὐδὲ ἐμὲ ἔχει βασιλέα."

<sup>18</sup> Macarius, *Apology*, f. 34: εἰθ' οὕτως ἐπισφραγίζουσα ταύτας καὶ γ' σύνοδος ἐπισκόπων μετὰ δύο γνωμῶν ιη', συναθροισθεῖσα ὁρισμῷ τοῦ ἁγίου βασιλέως εἰς τὸ κελλίον τοῦ Μηδείας τὴν Ψηγαίτισσαν διὰ τοῦ Γοθίας. On f. 11 Macarius adds to this account that the *horismos* was issued by the emperor (Manuel II) on his return from Italy.

<sup>19</sup> Macarius, *Apology*, f. 73: ὁ Γοθίας καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐπέχων τοῦ Ἐφέσου, ὁ Ἡρακλείας, ὁ Κυζίκου, ὁ Προύσης καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐπέχων τοῦ Νικομηδείας, ὁ Νικαίας, ὁ Θεσσαλονίκης διὰ τοποτηρητῶν αὐτοῦ, ὁ Μονεμβασίας διὰ γνώμης, ὁ Ἀδριανουπόλεως, ὁ Σεβερῆνου, ὁ Βιδύνης, ὁ Φιλίππουπόλεως διὰ γνώμης, ὁ Μηδείας, ὁ Γάννου, ὁ Δέρκω, ὁ Χαμᾶ, ὁ Παιδεστοῦ, ὁ Πανεύου.

<sup>20</sup> Macarius, *Apology*, f. 34: [ἡ γ' σύνοδος] ἐκάθηρε καὶ ἀφώρισε καὶ ἀνεθεμάτισεν

was read by Matthew who, after requesting the emperor to convoke a larger synod to examine the matter, paid no heed to the tome but, doubtless with Manuel's approval, "that same hour" resumed his position as patriarch<sup>21</sup>.

Whether a formal synod was actually convoked by Manuel, as Macarius claimed, or whether the group met on its own initiative is uncertain. The date, however, can be determined with reasonable accuracy. Manuel returned to Constantinople on 9 June (1403) and Matthew again took over the government of the church on 14 June<sup>22</sup>. According to the remark of Macarius cited above, "that same hour" that Matthew read the synodal decision, he entered on the patriarchate again. This "synod", then, took place between 9 and 14 June 1403.

*The Fourth Synod.* After the return of Manuel and the restoration of Matthew to the patriarchate, the charges against him were prepared for synodal judgement. Manuel convoked a synod in the imperial palace which was attended by some thirty three bishops and over which he personally presided<sup>23</sup>. In fact, Macarius complained that the emperor decided everything and forced the prelates to do just as he wished<sup>24</sup>. A synodal tome was

αὐτὸν ἐγγράφως, καὶ τὸν συνοδικὸν ἐκείνον τόμον στείλασα ἐνεχείρισε τῷ ἁγίῳ βασιλεῖ. He refers to the excommunication of the patriarch by this third synod in several other places, e.g., f. 10, 11, 61.

<sup>21</sup> Macarius, *Apology*, f. 34: ὃν δὴ τόμον καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πατριαρχεῦων εἶδε καὶ ἀνέγνω. ὁ δὲ ὑπόστυρεν τὴν εὐθυδικίαν τοῦ ἁγίου βασιλέως πρὸ ἐξετάσεως τῶν κατ' αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ μείζονος συνόδου. f. 35v:.... ὃν [τόμον] καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδὼν ἀναγνούς τε εἰς οὐδὲν ἡγήσατο τῇ γὰρ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ ἐπέβη τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

<sup>22</sup> Macarius, *Apology*, f. 74: ἐπειδὴ περ ὁ μὲν ἅγιος βασιλεὺς ἐπανῆκεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας, μεθ' οὗ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγωγε ἐπανῆλθον ἰουνίῳ θ', αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπέβη τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῇ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς ιδ'. The same notice, with some slight variation, is also found in *cod. Paris. gr.* 1378, f. 28v.

<sup>23</sup> *Tome of 1409*, f. 29v: ἐπανελθόντος τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ ἀποκαταστήσαντος τοῦτον εἰς τὸ πατριαρχεῖον ὅθεν ἐξεβλήθη κακῶς τε καὶ παρανόμως, εἶτα πρὸς κρίσιν συνοδικὴν τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν παραπέμφαντος ἡ δὴ πάντα καὶ συνόδου συναθροισθείσης μεγάλης καλεῖται θεῖα βασιλικὴ ἀρχιερέων τριάκοντα πρὸς τοῖς τρισὶ ἐξητάσθησάν τε καὶ διευλυτώθησαν κανονικῶς καὶ νομικῶς, αὐτοῦ προκατημένου τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν βασιλέως. In his *Apology* Macarius derisively refers to this as the synod in the palace, e.g., f. 10: κἄν γε ἔδοξεν ὅτι ἡθωώθη καὶ ἀποκατέστη ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ παλάτῳ ἐκείνης συνόδου...

<sup>24</sup> Macarius, *Apology*, f. 18/1: οὕτω κἄν τῇ εἰς τὸ παλάτιον συνόδῳ αὐτὸς ᾔην καὶ ὁ κρινόμενος καὶ ὁ κρίνων.

then drawn up officially acquitting the patriarch of the accusations against him, particularly that of the trisepiscopate, Macarius' favorite charge; the dissident bishops, Matthew of Medeia and Macarius himself, signed the tome and concelebrated the liturgy with the patriarch<sup>25</sup>. Manuel then issued a chrysobull confirming the acts of the synod<sup>26</sup>. While the exact date of this synod is uncertain, it was most probably held that same summer, perhaps about or soon after 2 July, when the patriarch and another metropolitan celebrated the liturgy in the Blachernae in the presence of Manuel<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Tome of 1409, f. 30: πάντα δὲ ταῦτα εἰς πλάτος διέξεισι ὁ τότε συντεθείς συνοδικὸς τόμος, εἰς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι συνήνεσαν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὑπέγραψαν, μεθ' ὧν καὶ συνελειτούργησαν τῷ παναγιωτάτῳ ἡμῶν δεσπότη.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, ἐφ' ὧν [τόμον] καὶ θεῖος καὶ προσκυνητὸς ἀπελύθη χρυσόβουλλος τοῦ κρατατοῦ καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως πρὸς τὸ μένειν τὰ ἐν τῷ τόμῳ ἀπαρασάλευτα.

<sup>27</sup> Macarius, *Apology*, f. 74: ἐν οὖν τῇ β' τοῦ Ἰουλίου... τίς τῶν παρόντων ὦδε καὶ ὧν εἰρήκαμεν μητροπολίτων ἐλειτούργησε μετὰ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Βλαχέρναν, παρόντος ἐκείσε καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου βασιλέως.

## THE SECOND TURKISH CAPTURE OF THESSALONICA 1391, 1394 or 1430?

That Thessalonica was captured by the Turks in 1387, that it was returned to the Byzantine Empire in 1403, and that it was definitively taken by the Turks in 1430 are historical facts which admit of no legitimate doubt.<sup>1</sup> Our information, however, about the fate of Thessalonica between the date of its first capture in 1387 and its liberation in 1403 is not as certain. In particular, it has at times been asserted that at some point during that period the Thessalonians threw off the Turkish yoke briefly, so that the city had to be stormed and retaken by the Turkish Emir Bajezid. Some place this event in 1391, others in 1394.<sup>2</sup> Detailed examina-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, English transl. by J. Hussey (Oxford, 1956), 485, 495, 498. For a detailed account of the capture in 1387, see G. Dennis, *The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382-1387* (= *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 159: Rome, 1960), 155. — In the preparation of this article the author was assisted by a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies and hereby wishes to express his gratitude.

<sup>2</sup> For example, 1391 is the date adopted by K. Hopf, *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis auf die neuere Zeit*, in Ersch-Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, 85-86 (Leipzig, 1867-68), 54b; N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches I* (Gotha, 1908), 282, n. 3; more recently, A. E. Bakalopoulos, „Οἱ δημοσιευμένες ὁμιλίες τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης Ἰσιδώρου ὡς ἱστορικὴ πηγή γιὰ τὴ γνώση τῆς πρώτης τουρκοκρατίας στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη (1387-1402)“, *Μακεδονικά* 4 (1960), 20-34; repeated in his *Ἱστορία τοῦ Νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ*, I (Thessalonica, 1961), 123; and „Les limites de l'empire byzantin depuis la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'à sa chute (1453)“, *B. Z.* 55 (1962), 56-65, esp. 57. G. Theocharides states that 1387 saw a Turkish garrison established in Thessalonica, but that the definitive capture occurred only after the death of John V in 1391: *Τοπογραφία καὶ πολιτικὴ ἱστορία τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης κατὰ τὸν ΙΑ' αἰῶνα* (Thessalonica, 1959), 48. The date of 1394 had been chosen by R. J. Loenertz, „Manuel Paléologue et Démétrius Cydonès, remarques sur leurs correspondances“, *Échos d'Orient* 36 (1937), 482-83 (with a misprint: 12 instead of 21 April); that date (together with the misprint) has been taken up by Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, 485, n. 4. In a recent letter to the author of the present article Fr. Loenertz writes that he no longer holds that view, but that for some time he has believed that there was no second capture in the 1390's. At this point I would like to express my gratitude to Fr. Loenertz for his kindness in making some helpful suggestions for this article. The date of 21 April 1394 was given by F. Babinger, *Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien* (14.-15. Jh.) (= *Südosteuropäische Arbeiten*, 34; Brünn-München-Wien, 1944), 16-17; P. Lemerle, *Philippe et la Macédoine Orientale* (Paris, 1945), 219; Halil Inalcik hesitantly inclines towards 1394: „Bayezid I“, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (London-Leiden, 1960), I, 1117-19. O. Tafrali presents a very confused account postulating several captures: *Thessalonique au quatorzième siècle* (Paris, 1913), 285-87. P. Charanis, „An

tion of the available evidence, however, points to the conclusion that there was no second capture in either 1391 or 1394, but that the city of Thessalonica remained under Ottoman control from the time of its first capture in the spring of 1387 until it recovered its freedom in 1403.

The records of the Venetian senate, generally so helpful in investigations of this sort, contain very few references to Thessalonica for the period which interests us, and those references either depict the city as in Turkish hands or else are silent regarding political domination. From a deliberation of the senate on 22 July 1387, it is clear that the Macedonian capital was already held by the Emir Murad: "... presertim habito respectu ad negotia Morati, qui habet Christopolim et Salonichi, ubi sunt parata quam plura corpora galearum."<sup>3</sup> The next Venetian document to mention Thessalonica is dated 26 April 1392 and clearly alludes to Turkish domination:

"Quia potentia Baysit-Bey multum crevit et crescere videtur ad damnum christianitatis per terram et per mare, et per ea que sentiuntur, ad presens ipse armare fecit in partibus Constantinopolis et Salonichi et in aliis diversis locis sibi subjectis galeas plures, ... debeat [capitaneus Culphi] attendere et vigilare ad damnum et destructionem Turchorum ... ad dicta bucha Avedi infra et conari toto posse de impediendo et turbando exitum galearum vel lignorum que exire vellent de Salonichi vel de aliis flumeriis Turchie."<sup>4</sup>

Another document of 4 December 1393 refers to Thessalonica, but is silent regarding Turkish or Byzantine rule of the city.<sup>5</sup> Available Venetian sources, then, and in fact, other Western sources, present no certain evidence one way or the other concerning a Turkish capture of the city in 1391 or 1394; they imply that it remained in Turkish possession, but that is all.

Important Short Chronicle of the Fourteenth Century", Byzantion 13 (1938), 361, rejects both 1391 and 1394 claiming that they probably represent a confusion with the event of 1387: we are forced to agree with this judgement.

<sup>3</sup> Venice, Archivio di Stato, Senato, Misti 40, fol. 82<sup>v</sup>, ed. Dennis, op. cit., 164. The same matter is dealt with by the senate on 28 September of that year, but Thessalonica is not explicitly mentioned: "... sentitur quod in partibus Christopolis et aliis maritimis, ipsi Turchi faciunt apparatus lignorum": Misti 40, fol. 94<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Senato, Misti 42, fol. 44, partially edited in N. Iorga, "Venetia in Marea Neagră", Analele Academiei Române, Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice, ser. II, tom. 36 (1913-1914), doc. 28, p. 1107-1108.

<sup>5</sup> Senato, Misti 42, fol. 140: Venetian merchants in Thessalonica had been arrested and their goods confiscated in reprisal for the seizure of a Thessalonian ship in Negropont. Iorga, (op. cit., doc. 37, p. 1111) published parts of the document and summarized the conclusion as follows: "Liberetur lignum turcicum". This is not found in the original, which makes no mention at all of Turks or anything Turkish. Another document dealing with the same conflict dated 16 July 1394 (Misti 43, fol. 17) again refers to Thessalonica but with no indication of who ruled the city.

The Greek narrative sources, as is well known, cannot be relied on for precise chronological data covering the last few decades of the fourteenth century.<sup>6</sup> In general, they speak of only one capture of Thessalonica before that of 1430, and the only trustworthy one which gives a date places that capture in 1387.<sup>7</sup> Some additional information, however, is furnished by the monks Cornnenus and Proclus in their Chronicle of Epirus to the effect that there was a Turkish garrison in Thessalonica at least during the summer of 1389. For a military force under the command of a certain Melkoutzes was sent from Thessalonica by the Emir (Bajezid) to assist the Despot of Joannina, Esau Buondelmonti, in repelling the attack of the Albanian chieftain Ghin Boua Spata in July 1389.<sup>8</sup> After Spata's withdrawal, the Despot Esau accompanied Melkoutzes to Bajezid and remained with him for a year and two months, although it is difficult to determine how much, if any, of that time was spent in Thessalonica.

Other Greek sources, although mentioning an Ottoman capture or rule of Thessalonica, provide practically no precise chronological indications, and none of them offers any basis for speaking of a Byzantine insurrection and subsequent Turkish recapture during the last decade of the fourteenth century. On this matter, for example, there is nothing to be found in the correspondence of Demetrius Cydones or in that of Manuel II Palaeologus. Official documents, such as the treaty of 1403 between Suleiman, the son of Bajezid and ruler of European Turkey, and the Emperor John VII Palaeologus, which returned the city to the Byzantine Empire, say nothing about the length of time Thessalonica was under Turkish rule or the date of its capture – or recapture.<sup>9</sup> One has to be con-

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dennis, op. cit., p. 1-8, with references.

<sup>7</sup> That is, the chronological notice of the cod. Marcian. gr. 408; cf. *ibid.*, 6-8. On Ducas cf. below.

<sup>8</sup> Chronicle edited by S. Cirac Estopañan, Bizancio y España, El legado de la basilissa María y de los despotas Thomas y Esau de Joannina, II (Barcelona, 1943), c. 35, p. 51. Early in 1388 the Despot Esau had visited Thessalonica "pro quibusdam suis arduis negociis et agendis", presumably to effect an alliance with the Turks against Spata: letter of Maddalena de' Buondelmonti to Donato Acciajuoli, ed. F. Gregorovius, "Briefe aus der 'Corrispondenza Acciajoli' in der Laurenziana zu Florenz", Sitzungsber. Bayer. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Cl., II (Munich, 1890-91), 303-304.

<sup>9</sup> An Italian copy of the treaty of 1403 has been published by L. de Mas Latrie, "Commerce et expéditions militaires de la France et de Venise au moyen âge", Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Mélanges historiques, Choix des documents, III (Paris, 1880), no. 22, p. 178-182; also by N. Iorga, "Privilegiul lui Mohammed al II-lea pentru Pera", Analele Acad. Rom., cit. supra, p. 85-88. A document issued by Manuel II Palaeologus on 29 September 1404 refers to the period of Ottoman rule, but provides no precise information relevant to the present study: ed. Arkadios Vatopedinos, "Βασιλική διαταγή πρὸς Δημήτριον Βουλιατῆν περὶ Ἀγίου Ὁρους", Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς 2 (1918), 449-52; the same could be said of a prostagma of Manuel of December 1408 for the monastery of Vatopedi: ed. V. Mošin, "Akti iz Svjetogorskikh Arkhiva", Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, Spomenik, 91, ser. 2, 70 (Belgrade, 1939), 165-67. Another document from Mt Athos of 14 April 1421 mentions the return of Thessalonica to Byzantine rule seventeen years

tent with vague and general expressions, such as that in the encomium of John VII Palaeologus in the Synodikon of Thessalonica which mentions only the "long servitude" of that city.<sup>10</sup>

There are, however, two sources which could reasonably be expected to provide some information about the fate of Thessalonica under Turkish rule: the sermons and other writings of the two archbishops of the city during that period, Isidore Glabas (1380–1396) and Gabriel (1397–1416/19). While the city was besieged by the forces of Khairaddin-Pasha in the spring of 1384 Isidore Glabas sailed away to Constantinople, where he remained for a few years.<sup>11</sup> In 1387 shortly after the surrender of the city he addressed a pastoral letter to his flock consoling them on their sufferings, exhorting them to remain firm in their faith and to obey their new masters.<sup>12</sup> Although he promised to return to them soon in the company of their civic authorities, the 'archons', then at the Ottoman court, he does not seem to have left Constantinople until after April 1389.<sup>13</sup> At any rate, he was back in Thessalonica to deliver the sermons for the first and second Sundays before the feast of St. Demetrius, 5 and 12 October 1393.<sup>14</sup> Even a cursory reading of those two sermons leaves no doubt that the metropolitan is preaching to the inhabitants of an occupied city, of a city ruled by the Turks. In the first sermon Isidore tells the Thessalonians that their present slavery has been brought about by their own sins; still, he claims, they have good reason to be grateful to God, for their sufferings have been far lighter than

previously, but furnishes no details of interest here: F. Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges* (1948), doc. 102, lines 53–54, p. 268.

<sup>10</sup> Ed. G. Mercati, „Sarebbe Stafidace l'epistolografo del codice laurenziano di S. Marco 356?“, *Studi Bizantini* 2 (1927), 242, n. 2. The Slavic life of Stephan Lazarević by Constantine the Philosopher, written about the year 1431, attributes the capture of Thessalonica to Bajezid, but places it after the battle of Nicopolis in 1396: „Konstantin Philosoph, Život Stefana Lazarevića Despota Srpskoga“, ed. V. Jagić, *Glasnik Srpskog Učenog Društva*, 42 (1875), 223–328; 372–377, esp. 271. Cf. also M. Braun, *Lebensbeschreibung des Despoten Stefan Lazarević von Konstantin dem Philosophen* (The Hague, 1956), 9, 15–16; and S. Stanojević, „Die Biographie Stefan Lazarević's von Konstantin dem Philosophen als Geschichtsquelle“, *Archiv slav. Philol.* 18 (1896), 409–472.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. R. J. Loenertz, „Isidore Glabas, métropolitain de Thessalonique (1380–1396)“, *Revue Ét. Byz.* 6 (1948), 181–90; also for further references, cf. Dennis, op. cit., 16–18; 89–95.

<sup>12</sup> Ed. S. Lampros, „Ἰσιδώρου ἐπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης ὑπὲρ ἐπιστολῶν ἀνέκδοτοι“, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 9 (1912), 343–414; Letter 8, p. 387–391.

<sup>13</sup> He took part in the meetings of the synod in February and April 1389: *Acta et Diplomata*, ed. F. Miklosich and J. Müller, 6 vols. (Vienna, 1860–1890), II, no. 403, p. 115; no. 405, p. 130; no. 406, p. 133. But he was not present in July or thereafter: *ibid.*, no. 409, p. 135.

<sup>14</sup> The dates, which there is no reason to doubt, are given in the manuscript copy of the sermons edited by B. Laourdas, *Ἰσιδώρου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης ὁμιλίαι εἰς τὰς ἑορτὰς τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου*, Ἑλληνικά, παράρτημα 5, (Thessalonica, 1954): these two sermons are numbered 4 and 5 in the edition, p. 55–65.

they had deserved. The prelate recalls his own visit to Bajezid and the many favors, "greater than we could ever have hoped for", which the Emir had granted to the conquered city. They should, therefore, he concludes, give proof of their gratitude by reforming their lives and, in particular, by ceasing to murmur against the Greek magistrates who protect them and who bear the brunt of the conqueror's anger and oppression. The second sermon was addressed specifically to those magistrates, the 'archons', with a view to encouraging them in their difficult task.

Some misunderstanding has arisen regarding the status of Thessalonica during the 1390's owing to the varied interpretation of two points in the sermons of Isidore. The first concerns about the several references to the 'archons', the Greek civil magistrates in Thessalonica. The fact that there were Byzantine authorities in the city does not by any means prove independence of Ottoman control.<sup>15</sup> Practically all of the references to Byzantine administrators, such as those in the sermons of Glabas, occur in contexts where there is absolutely no doubt that the city was occupied by the Turks. It seems very probable at this period, as Professor Lemerle has pointed out, that the Turks did not trouble themselves about the administration of conquered territories in Greece, but left that to the former Byzantine authorities, perhaps even granting them a certain amount of local self government, while they contented themselves with the establishment of garrisons in important places to safeguard their military control.<sup>16</sup>

The second point concerns the great and unexpected favors which, according to Isidore, Bajezid had bestowed upon the conquered city. "Because of our numerous sins," the metropolitan declared, "we had been condemned to slavery, but just when we expected to suffer the worst, we experienced, as you all know, a considerable gratification."<sup>17</sup> For this reason, he continued, the Thessalonians should give due thanks to God, so that they might deserve even greater gifts. Could this 'considerable

<sup>15</sup> There are several references to 'archons' in the above mentioned sermons; that of 12 October is entitled: „Ὁμιλία ὅτι φέρειν χρὴ τοὺς τῶν κοινῶν προϊσταμένους καὶ προύχοντας ἐν πολιτείᾳ τοὺς τῶν πολλῶν καὶ εὐτελῶν ἀνθρώπων γογγυσμούς.“ (Laourdas, op. cit., no. 5, p. 60–65). Other references may be found in Letter 8 of Isidore Glabas, cited above; in the patriarchal document of 20 March 1397 regarding the vacancy of the see: Miklosich-Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, II, no. 512, p. 275–276. M. Laskaris („Θεσσαλονίκη καὶ Τάνα“, *Τόμος Κωνσταντίνου Ἀρμενοπούλου* [Thessalonica, 1952], 331–340) had believed that a reference to a 'Caesar' in a patriarchal letter of January 1394 to Gabriel, superior of the Nea Moni, implied complete Byzantine rule in Thessalonica at the time. As proof of their rights to some disputed property the monks of Akapniou in Thessalonica adduced a document from the 'Caesar'. G. Theocharides, however, has shown that this document was not issued in 1394, but ten years earlier, January 1384, when the Caesar Alexis Angelus ruled over Thessaly: „Δύο νέα ἔγγραφα ἀφορῶντα εἰς τὴν Νέαν Μονὴν Θεσσαλονίκης“, *Μακεδονικά* 4 (1960), 321–26.

<sup>16</sup> P. Lemerle, *Philippe et la Macédoine Orientale*, 219, n. 1.

<sup>17</sup> „ὅτε δὲ προσδοκῶντες ἤμεν παθεῖν τὰ δεινότερα, τότε καὶ ψυχαγωγίας, ἵστε δὲ τοῦτο πάντες, ἀπηλαύσαμεν οὐ μετρίας.“ Sermon 4, Laourdas, op. cit., p. 56, lines 30–31.

gratification', this pleasant surprise, refer to a brief period of freedom from Turkish rule?<sup>18</sup> It is scarcely likely that Isidore would employ such terms to the inhabitants of a city then obviously under Turkish domination; he would not be likely to recall the memory of an unsuccessful insurrection. Furthermore, the context of his sermon makes it clear that this 'gratification' was closely tied in with the favors, the unexpected benefits conferred by the Ottoman Emir. What those benefits were cannot be determined with certainty, although there are several possibilities: perhaps the tax burden was lightened; perhaps the citizens led away into slavery were allowed to return; perhaps Isidore had dissuaded Bajezid from imposing the infamous tribute of children, the *devshirme*, which was not imposed until early in 1395.<sup>19</sup> It may also be that as a churchman he would consider it the greatest of benefits not to have the churches converted into mosques.

After Isidore's death on 11 January 1396 the see remained vacant until the appointment of Gabriel, Metropolitan of Chalcedon, in the summer of 1397.<sup>20</sup> A native of Thessalonica, he had been a monk and then superior of the convent called the 'Nea Moni' in that city. During the Turkish siege of Thessalonica from 1383 to 1387 he had, like Isidore, fled to Constantinople; there he had attained the titular dignity of metropolitan of Chalcedon. In January 1394 he was back in his native city as superior again of the 'Nea Moni'; in May of that year he returned to the capital, but by January 1395 was again settled in Thessalonica.<sup>21</sup> The encomium of Gabriel, the chief source for much of our information about him, states that at the time of his return to Thessalonica (apparently his first return in the winter of 1393–1394) the city was under Turkish control, although it was still protected by its patron St. Demetrius.<sup>22</sup> The encomium then de-

<sup>18</sup> Such is the conclusion of Bakalopoulos: „Οἱ δημοσιευμένες ὁμιλίες... τοῦ Ἱσιδώρου“, (cited above), p. 33. In support of this theory, he cites Ducas, which will be discussed below. In another article, „Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Γαβριὴλ καὶ ἡ πρώτη τουρκικὴ κατοχὴ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης (1391–1403)“, *Μακεδονικά* 4 (1955–60), 371–73, he presents what he considers to be two confirmations of his view. The first is a letter of Demetrius Cydones to Manuel II which speaks of a siege of Thessalonica by the Turks: ed. G. Cammelli, *Démétrius Cydonès Correspondance* (Paris, 1930), no. 48, p. 122–25; also ed. R. J. Loenertz, *Démétrius Cydonès Correspondance*, II (= *Studi e Testi* 208; Vatican City, 1960), no. 299, p. 216–18. Bakalopoulos follows Cammelli in dating the letter in 1391, although Loenertz, in the article cited above from the *Échos d'Orient*, p. 482, had clearly demonstrated that Cammelli's dating was erroneous and that the letter must be ascribed to the period 1383–1384. His second argument in favor of 1391 revolves around the encomium of the metropolitan Gabriel; on this cf. *infra* and note 22.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. S. Vryonis, „Isidore Glabas and the Turkish Devshirme“, *Speculum* 31 (1956), 433–443, with good bibliography.

<sup>20</sup> V. Laurent, „Le métropolitain de Thessalonique Gabriel (1397–1416/19) et le couvent de la Νέα μονή“, *Ἑλληνικά* 13 (1954), 241–55, with abundant references.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 246–47; also cf. Dennis, *op. cit.*, 97–98.

<sup>22</sup> The work has been edited by L. S. Laourdas, „Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Θεσσαλονίκης Γαβριήλ“, *Μακεδονικά* 4 (1955–60), 352–70; the reference here is to

votes a great deal of space to describing the changes wrought by Gabriel in the souls of the Thessalonians suffering under Ottoman oppression and his success in persuading Bajezid to lighten their burden. There is no indication at all in this lengthy work of a period, however brief, of freedom from Turkish domination. Unfortunately, very few of Gabriel's sermons have been published, and the one that might be expected to furnish some information, that given after the defeat of Bajezid at Ankara (28 July 1402), speaks only in general terms of the long period of slavery under Ottoman domination.<sup>23</sup>

From the sources mentioned above, therefore, the following conclusions may be drawn with solid, historical certitude: the city of Thessalonica was conquered by the Turks in the spring of 1387; it was under Turkish rule in July 1387, in the summer of 1389, in April 1392, in October 1393, in January 1394, in February 1395 and from that date until the late summer of 1402 at the earliest. There is no evidence in any of these sources of a Turkish capture of the city other than that of 1387.

The assigning of the years 1391 or 1394 as the date of a second Turkish capture of Thessalonica can basically be traced back to two sources: the Turkish chronicle of Mehmed Neşri and the Greek chronicle of Ducas. It is generally conceded that the Ottoman chroniclers cannot be depended on at all for precise information before the second decade of the fifteenth century.<sup>24</sup> Neşri, who is followed by other Turkish historians, and who wrote about a hundred years after the event, states:

“A Frank came to attack the shores of Rumelia and caused a great deal of damage. The Lord [Bajezid] with his army went there to gather

p. 363. Bakalopoulos (Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Γαβριήλ . . . , 371–73) claims to find here a confirmation of his view that Thessalonica was captured in 1391. Through the intercession of St. Demetrius, he asserts, and the activity of its metropolitan, the city was preserved from the severe punishment which should have followed its rebellion against Bajezid. The text of the encomium, however, neither says nor implies anything at all about such a rebellion; it merely states that the Ottoman domination was not as severe as might have been expected, and it attributes this protection to St. Demetrius.

<sup>23</sup> Several sermons referring to St. Demetrius have been edited by B. Laourdas, „Γαβριὴλ Θεσσαλονίκης ὁμιλία“, *Ἀθηνᾶ* 57 (1953), 141–178; the one on the defeat of Bajezid is no. 6, p. 164–68. The sermon gives the impression of having been delivered shortly after news of the Ottoman defeat reached Thessalonica; probably sometime in August 1402. It is, furthermore, difficult to imagine such a sermon having been given while the Turks still occupied the city. Could the Turkish garrison have withdrawn, or been driven out by the Greeks, or at least been forced to remain in their fortress? The city may, then, have recovered its freedom in late summer 1402, although it was not officially returned to the Byzantine Empire until the spring of 1403. The precise chronology of this series of events still remains to be studied.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1927); P. Wittek, „Zum Quellenproblem der ältesten osmanischen Chroniken (mit Auszügen aus Neşri)“, *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte* 1 (1921–22), 77–150; W. L. Langer and R. P. Blake, „The Rise of the Ottoman Turks and its Historical Background“, *Amer. Hist. Rev.* 37 (1932), 468–505, esp. 472.

together the forces of Rumelia. With this army he advanced towards Thessalonica and immediately began his attack. Thus, on 19 Djemazi-ul-akhira 796 Heg. [= 21 April 1394] he captured the region about Thessalonica. And they say that in the same year he captured the city of Thessalonica also, but the infidels recaptured it when he died. He then captured Larissa and Athens.<sup>25</sup>

First of all, it should be noted that Nešri does not affirm that Bajezid captured Thessalonica, but merely that this was what some people said. All he writes is simply that on 21 April 1394 the Emir subdued the territory about the city. This statement, then, vague and uncertain in itself, written a century later by an author generally not exact in dealing with this period, and who is not corroborated by any other evidence, is the extremely fragile basis for asserting that Thessalonica was taken by the Turks in 1394.

How is it that others have come to assign the date of 1391? Once again, this can be indirectly traced to Nešri, or rather, to the Latin translation of Nešri made by John Löwenklau, who made a simple error in transcription: instead of copying the date 796 Heg. [= 21 April 1394], he wrote 793 Heg. [= 25 May 1391].<sup>26</sup> In addition, half a century after the event, the Greek historian Ducas recorded that after the death of John V Palaeologus (16 February 1391) and the hasty assumption of power by his son, Manuel II, Bajezid attacked and captured Thessalonica.<sup>27</sup> Ismael Boulliau (Bullialdus) in the notes to his edition of Ducas, reprinted in the Bonn edition, correlated this with the faulty transcription of Löwenklau.<sup>28</sup> From this the date of 25 May 1391 was adopted by Hopf in his *Geschichte Griechenlands*, and thence found its way into later works.<sup>29</sup> Since this date rests on a even shakier foundation than that of 1394, it has generally been rejected by scholars.<sup>30</sup>

In conclusion, one may readily admit, as the sources certainly imply, that Thessalonica did not feel the full weight of the Turkish occupation

until perhaps late in 1394, and it may well have enjoyed a fair amount of self government. A detailed study of the sources, including those not yet published, should shed some light on this and on other aspects of the first period of Ottoman domination in Thessalonica. But to speak of a re-assumption of power by the Byzantines (with or without a revolt) and a consequent Turkish recapture of the city in the 1390's is to overstep the bounds of the historian. There may, indeed, have been an insurrection; Bajezid may have retaken the city by assault. Such notions must, however, be recognized for what they are – as hypotheses, as theories. To transform these theories into fact one must have proof and, thus far, no proof has been brought forward. On the basis, therefore, of the documents at his disposition, the historian can say no more but that the city of Thessalonica after its capture by the Turks in 1387 remained in Turkish possession until the late summer of 1402 at the earliest, and that the only factually established second Turkish capture of Thessalonica was that of 1430.

<sup>25</sup> Critical text edited by F. R. Unat and M. A. Köymen, *Kitab-i-cihan numâ, Nešri tarihi*, I (Ankara, 1949), *Türk tarih kurumu*, ser. 3, vol. 2; above citation on p. 323-25; Serbian transl. of this passage in Gliša Elezović, *Ogledalo sveta ili istorija Mehmeda Nešrije*, Srpska Akademija Nauka, Zbornik Istočnjačku istoriku i književnu građu, odeljenje društvenih nauka, ser. 1, vol. 3 (Belgrade, 1957), p. 77.

<sup>26</sup> Joannes Leunclavius, *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum de monumentis ipsorum exscriptae libri XVIII* (Frankfurt, 1591), p. 320. The error in transcription had been pointed out by Loenertz, *Échos d'Orient* 36 (1937), 482-83.

<sup>27</sup> Ed. V. Grecu, *Istoria Turco-Bizantină* (Bucharest, 1958), p. 77-79; ed. I. Bekker, *Ducæ Michaelis Ducæ nepotis historia Byzantina* (Bonn, 1834), p. 50.

<sup>28</sup> Bonn edition, p. 557.

<sup>29</sup> Hopf, op. cit., p. 54b; Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* (Gotha, 1908), I, p. 282, n. 3.

<sup>30</sup> Loenertz, loc. cit.; Babinger, *Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft*, 16-17; cf. also others cited above in note 2.

## The Byzantine - Turkish Treaty of 1403

The crushing defeat inflicted on the Ottoman Turks and the capture of Bajezid by Tamerlane at Ankara on 28 July 1402 threw the Eastern Mediterranean into a state of panic and utter confusion. Turks, Greeks and Latins lived in constant dread of another Mongol onslaught, yet at the same time, each tried to profit from the wreckage of the Turkish empire. This led old enemies to forge new alliances, even though their temporary nature was realized by all. It is with such alliances and peace treaties that this article is concerned, for the uncertainty and confusion which existed among the Levantine powers in 1402-1403 is still reflected in historical writing today. This is understandable because of the scarcity of reliable sources, but it is hoped that the present short study may aid in clarifying some aspects of that troubled period, particularly the peace treaties of 1403.

After the disastrous battle of Ankara, Suleyman, the eldest son of Bajezid, fled to establish himself in European Turkey and arrived in Gallipoli on 20 August, only three weeks later<sup>(1)</sup>. His brothers were left to try to salvage what they could in Anatolia. The primary concern of Suleyman, however, was to consolidate his position on the European side of the Dardanelles, and to accomplish this he needed a period of truce with the Christian powers there. Almost immediately he began negotiations with Byzantium, Venice, Genoa, Rhodes and the other Christian regimes. On 22 September the Venetian senate discussed the measures to be taken and hoped that they themselves might obtain strategic Gallipoli<sup>(2)</sup>. The Serenissima also wrote to the Byzantine Emperor

<sup>(1)</sup> Short notice in *cod. Paris. gr. 2228*, fol. 91<sup>v</sup>, published in S. LAMPROS-K. AMANTOS, *Βαγιά Χρονιά* (Athens 1932), n. 41, p. 68. The sources constantly refer to Suleyman as Musulman Zalabi or some variation thereof.

<sup>(2)</sup> Venice, Archivio di Stato, *Senato, Misti* 46, fol. 43<sup>v</sup>-44.

Manuel II Palaeologus, then in Paris, confirming the news of the Turkish defeat and urging him to hasten back to Constantinople as soon as possible<sup>(1)</sup>. The aims of Venetian diplomacy were well defined and considered all possible contingencies. Paramount, of course, was the security of their mercantile establishment in the Levant. With this in mind peace and stability had to be assured on all fronts. It was imperative that a settlement be reached with Suleyman in Europe and with his brother in Anatolia as well as with the Byzantine Empire. For the time being at least, peace with Genoa and the Hospitallers was essential, and Venetian admirals were given explicit orders to avoid any open conflict with the Genoese<sup>(2)</sup>. They were also most anxious that any agreement with Byzantium be made with Manuel II and not with his nephew in Constantinople, John VII, too closely tied to the Genoese whose intentions they viewed with great suspicion<sup>(3)</sup>. It seems that Suleyman also desired to align himself with Manuel and Venice and was willing to grant a considerable number of concessions to both. While negotiations in Gallipoli were already under way he dispatched an envoy to Venice whose mission also concerned Manuel. In addition to promises of territory, the Turkish emir hoped to arrive at an agreement with Manuel in which he equivalently offered to become a Byzantine vassal<sup>(4)</sup>. Manuel, however, delayed his return journey and did not arrive in Genoa until 22 January 1403<sup>(5)</sup> and in his capital until 9 June. Neither Venice nor any of the other interested powers could afford to wait. On 11 January 1403 the Genoese government designated Jean de Châteaumorand as its envoy to Romania, Greece, Turkey and

<sup>(1)</sup> On 9 October 1402: *Ibid.*, fol. 47<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>(2)</sup> Venice, Archivio di Stato, *Secreti*, I, fol. 91.

<sup>(3)</sup> On 7 December 1402 the Senate urged Manuel to hasten his return, « et ob stare his que ordinentur per nepotem et Januenses »: Venice, Arch. Stato, *Senato, Misti* 46, fol. 58<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.* « Quod respondeatur isti oratori magnifici domini Çalabi, filii Baysiti, qui reductus est in partibus Grece, ad illa verba que nobis dixit parte sua ortando nos ad suadendum domino imperatori Chiermanoli quod ipse debeat presto se reducere ad partes Constantinopolis, nam dispositio sua est esse eius filius et non recedere a voluntatibus suis, non dubitans quod ipsi bene erunt in concordio quia voluit quod possit disponere et ordinare de terris et locis suis sicut de propriis ».

<sup>(5)</sup> GIORGIO STELLA, *Annales Genuenses*, ed. L. A. MURATORI, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, 17 (Milan, 1730), p. 1196.



other lands, to John VII as well as to Manuel II and finally to Tamerlane, with very wide powers of negotiation, although the precise object of his mission is not stated <sup>(1)</sup>. In the meantime, the Lord of Andros, Pietro Zeno, together with Marco Grimani, represented Venice in trying to draw up a treaty with Suleyman, his brother in Turkey, Byzantium and the other Latin powers, negotiations which dragged on for three and a half months <sup>(2)</sup>. Finally the terms were agreed upon and the treaty signed by Suleyman and the representatives of the Christian states; unfortunately the only extant version of that treaty is a rough Italian translation of a Turkish original, which is given in Appendix I of this article <sup>(3)</sup>. Although some negotiations must have been carried on, it is uncertain whether any agreement was made with Suleyman's brother in Turkey; in any case, he made very few, if any, concessions <sup>(4)</sup>. According to Zeno's report to the Venetian government

<sup>(1)</sup> Venice, Arch. Stato, *Miscellanea atti diplomatici e privati*, busta 30, no. 905.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. Appendix III.

<sup>(3)</sup> This version of the treaty has been published several times: L. DE MAS LATRIE, « Commerce et expéditions militaires de la France et de Venise au moyen âge », *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Mélanges historiques, Choix des documents*, III (Paris, 1880), no. 22, p. 178-182; G. M. THOMAS, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, II (Venice, 1899), no. 159, p. 290-293; N. IORGA, « Privilegiul lui Mohammed al II-lea pentru Pera », *Analele Academiei Române, Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, ser. II (1913-1914), 85-88. Because of the relative unavailability of those editions and because of its importance for the present study, it seems well to publish the document again.

<sup>(4)</sup> The instructions given by Venice to its ambassador, Giacomo Suriano, on 9 April 1403 state that he is to speak to the Byzantine emperor in part as follows: « dominatio nostra informata per suos rectores partium Romanie de pace et concordia celebrata inter imperium suum, Januenses, illos de Rodo, nos et alios in dicta pace conclusos, et utrumque ex filiis Baysiti, tam illum qui est in partibus Grecie quam illum qui est in partibus Turchie... »: Venice, Arch. Stato, *Senato, Misti* 46, fol. 73<sup>v</sup>. If he should succeed in locating Suleyman's brother in Turkey, his instructions continue: « narrabis causam missionis tue parte nostra ad suam presentiam pro visitatione amicabile persone sue et pro confirmatione et validatione pacis tractate inter suam excellentiam et nos... ut per copiam quam de illa tecum portas, ipse nil promisit nobis exequendum per eum ». *Ibid.*, fol. 74. The document given in Appendix III states: « in tractatibus pacis concludere inter utrumque filium Basayti et maxime cum illo qui dominatur in partibus Grecie ».

(Appendix II), the treaty with Suleyman was signed in Gallipoli <sup>(1)</sup>. But the date on which it was signed is open to question, for the only extant version is not dated, and that of 3 June 1403 which has been rather arbitrarily assigned to it by historians is certainly not tenable <sup>(2)</sup>. As far as one can judge, the treaty involving Suleyman, John VII and the other Christian powers must have been made in January or early February 1403. On 20 February of that year the scribes from Pera were reimbursed for their work in drawing up the agreement <sup>(3)</sup>. The report of Zeno states that while he was engaged in the negotiations in Gallipoli he received the news that Antonio Acciajuoli had captured the acropolis of Athens, an event whose precise date is not known but which most probably took place about January 1403 <sup>(4)</sup>. A copy of the concluded treaty as well as the report of Zeno were given to Giacomo Suriano, the Venetian ambassador, on 9 April 1403 <sup>(5)</sup>. The decision of the Venetian senate of 2 June 1403 (Appendix III) to reimburse Zeno for his labors clearly states that he had been engaged in preparing the treaty for three and a half months during the past year, *anno preterito*, which in Venetian reckoning included January and February 1403.

Probably still unaware of the conclusion of the treaty, Manuel II expressed his intention of spending a month in the Morea

<sup>(1)</sup> The report of Zeno has been partially edited by N. JORGA, « Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle », *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 4 (1896) 258-262.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. F. DÖLGER, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, 5. Teil (Munich, 1965), no. 3201; *Idem*, « Johannes VII., Kaiser der Rhomäer », *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 31 (1931) 33; P. WIRTH, « Zum Geschichtsbild Kaiser Johannes' VII. Palaiologos », *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 595-596.

<sup>(3)</sup> « Pro Lavagnino de Murta, notario, et socio, scribis curie Peyre, et sunt pro eorum labore et mercede per eos passis, tam in scribendo et extrahendo instrumentum pacis unite inter serenissimum imperatorem et Comune nostrum cum liga ex una parte, et illustrem dominum Mosorman Jhalabi, Turchorum dominum in Grecia ex alia ». IORGA, *op. cit.*, p. 82-83.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. K. SETTON, *Catalan Domination of Athens 1311-1388* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), 202.

<sup>(5)</sup> « Pecimus etiam tibi assignari ad cautelam unam reformationem dicte pacis nobis missam per ser Petrum Geno et capitula duo literarum suarum facientia ad ipsa facta ». Venice, Arch. Stato, *Senato, Misti* 46, fol. 74.



and there to negotiate with Suleyman <sup>(1)</sup>. In any event, he must soon have learned of the treaty which his nephew had concluded with Suleyman and he must also have realized, as did the Venetians, that the treaty would be of brief duration and of little consequence unless it were made stronger <sup>(2)</sup>. In order to strengthen and to reconfirm that treaty elaborate and complicated instructions were given on 9 April 1403 to Giacomo Suriano, Venetian ambassador to the sons of Bajezid <sup>(3)</sup>. The principal purpose of his mission was to assure the execution of the promises made to Venice by the Turks. He was also to try to accompany Manuel to Gallipoli and, when the occasion should present itself, to discuss the peace treaty already signed and to express Venetian hopes that Manuel would also regard it as binding and would ratify it <sup>(4)</sup>. This required a great deal of tact since Venice was well aware of the tension between Manuel and his nephew and, although certainly favoring Manuel, made full provision for treating with John VII in case he should be powerful enough to prevent his uncle from regaining the throne. How successful Suriano was in carrying out his difficult and delicate assignment is not known. Neither do we know Manuel's reaction to the treaty made in his absence, although that certainly must have been one of the topics of discussion when John VII met him in Gallipoli in May or early June 1403 <sup>(5)</sup>. Whether Manuel also met with Suleyman there or later in Constantinople, he definitely in some form or other ratified the

<sup>(1)</sup> Venice, Arch. Stato, *Secreti*, I, fol. 88<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>(2)</sup> On 23 March 1403 the Venetian senate declared: « Cum omnes qui sint informati de factis et condicionibus Turchorum in hoc concordent quod paces celebrate et concluse cum utroque filiorum Baysiti, tam illo qui est in partibus Grece quam illo qui est in partibus Turchie, essent modico tempore durature et quasi nullius importancie nisi de novo confirmentur... »: Venice, Arch. Stato, *Senato, Misti* 46, fol. 69.

<sup>(3)</sup> Venice, Arch. Stato, *Senato, Misti* 46, fol. 73<sup>v</sup>-75<sup>v</sup>. Too lengthy and detailed to cite in full within the limits of this article, the document stresses the importance of seeing that the provisions of the peace treaty which affect Venice should be completely implemented.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 73<sup>v</sup>: « ...et optamus quod quatenus erit pro parte sua habeat effectum ».

<sup>(5)</sup> On 23 June 1403 the Comune of Pera reimbursed Pambello de Spignano for the expenses he incurred, « hiis diebus quando fuerunt missi cum domino imperatore Calojane super galeam usque Gallipolim, ubi tunc existerat dominus imperator Chir Manoli ». Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

treaty or concluded another one with him which, in any case, must have been almost identical with that made by John VII. In a document of 29 September 1404 Manuel refers to Suleyman as his "son" and mentions the agreement (ἄρκωμοτικόν) between them <sup>(1)</sup>. Ducas also speaks of an agreement between Manuel and Suleyman and, although his narrative may confuse the two treaties, his account of the terms coincides very closely with that of January 1403 <sup>(2)</sup>.

In conclusion, then, several treaties or agreements were made in 1403, although we only have a copy of the first one. The first treaty was concluded in January or early February 1403 in Gallipoli between Suleyman, John VII, Venice, Genoa, Rhodes and other Christian powers. Probably about the same time some sort of an agreement was reached with Suleyman's brother in Anatolia. The third treaty was that made between Manuel II and Suleyman probably in June 1403 either in Gallipoli or Constantinople. Perhaps there was a fourth treaty involving Manuel and the Turkish emir in Anatolia.

#### APPENDIX I

A Copy of the Peace Treaty between the Turkish Emir Suleyman and the Byzantine Emperor John VII and the Other Christian Powers. January-February 1403.

Venice, Archivio di Stato, *Pacta, reg.* VI, fol. 130<sup>v</sup> (anc. 128<sup>v</sup>).

(1) Copia pactorum pacis facte cum domino Musulman Zalabi, scripture in ydiomate turcho e signate signo suo et suorum baronum, reformata per ser Petrum Geno.

(2) In nomine di Dio verasio. Mi che sum Musulman Zalabi, soldan, fio del gran soldan Baysit imperador, dapuo che lo gran impera-

<sup>(1)</sup> « Βασιλικὴ διαταγὴ πρὸς Δημήτριον Βουλιωτὴν περὶ Ἀγίου Ὁρους », ed. A. VATOPEDINOS, *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς* 2 (1918) 449-452.

<sup>(2)</sup> DUCAS, *Istoria Turco-Bizantinā*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), 18, 2, p. 111-113. Also cf. A. BAKALOPULOS, « Les limites de l'empire byzantin depuis la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'à sa chute (1453) », *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 55 (1962) 56-65.

dor Caloiani, imperador di Griesi, mio pare, Paleologo imperador e lo imperio de Constantinopoli fo contenti quelli e mi cum lo comandamento del nostro Signor Dio, et etiandio cum li grandi comuni insembre, Rodo cum lo so hospital, Venetia, Çenoa cum l'isola di Sio e lo Duchia di Nicxia cum tute le terre et isole che sum ali suo luogi e suo cose del Mar da Basso e del Mar Mazor et infra terra de lo imperador cum tuti i luogi che lo habia e de la liga che s'e in so compagnia, havemo zurado et havemo fato verasia paxe cum bona voluntade e drete adesso cum la voluntade de Miser Domenedio. io zuro per quello che ha fatto lo cieol e la terra et per lo mio Macometo Mustafa e per le mie vij mustafi e per lo mio altissimo grande profeta che nuy credemo e per anema de mio avo e per la testa de mio pare soldan e par l'anema mia, cum tuti questi ho fato paxie, cum li mie baroni e cum tuti li mie suditi et homenj io ho fato questa paxe, e ancora cum tuto lo paise che Dio me dara s'il vegnisse altri signori mie suzeti, cum mio pare lo imperador e cum lo imperio di Griesi e cum la compagnia de li comuni, li castelli e terre de lo imperador e de le convicine et cum li luogi e isole e casali che sum a lo Mar de Basso e a lo Mar Mazor et infra terra, havemo fato la paxe fin a che seremo vivi e li fiuoli de nostri fiuoli sia cum lor in bona paxe.

(3) A mio pare imperador de Griesi e a lo imperio di Constantinopoli io ho dato Salonichi cum la Calamarea cum tute le lor pertinentie, como havemo parlato, e di lo Galicho fina lo Paravardaro e fina a la marina franco e libero, et ho dato Salonichi cum lo so cula, e quello che li dava a mio pare io i lo dono, e ho li dato da lo Panido fina in Mesembria e la Palateoria insembre et le suo castelle e saline et con tute le lor pertinentie, io le ho dato senza alguni tributi a mio pare lo imperador et a lo imperio di Griesi. et in quelle contrade tuti quei Turchi che habia possession io li die cazar via de la et in questi luogi tuti quei si Griesi como Turchi che habia comprado alguna cossa per la soa moneda che li sia soy. et ho dato Constantinopoli cum tute suo confine franche senza algun tributo de la Parapolia fino al Panido, et in questi luogi che o dato al imperador ch'el possa murar castelli et ogni forteza ondi li plaxe a tuto so plaser.

(4) Item. in Turchia quei castelli che tegniva lo imperador tuti li ho dadi.

(5) Item. s'il sera alguna novitade de Tamberlan io ve daro le mie galie quante havero, marinari a vegnir in Constantinopoli a le mie spexe si lo havera bisogno.

(6) Item. per contra Salonicho io li ho dato el Scopelo, el Sciato et lo Sciro, et ho li dato fina x novembre in qua lo trabuto de li diti luogi.

(7) Item. tuti li homenj de Constantinopoli che sum inside possa tornar senza algum impazo in le lor caxe.

(8) Item. tute cosse et difference passade dal tempo de mio avo e de mio pare in qua sia lasade et asolte, e non se debia cercar, salvo si algun debitor special dovesse dar un ad j<sup>o</sup> altro che lo i sia fato rasion.

(9) Item. lo fio de Lazaro lo teren so che lo havera in lo tempo de mio pare che lo non i se dia briga, et debia dar lo trabuto che lo dava per avanti a mio pare, et mandar la so zente a l'oste como lo iera usado. et si cum la soa persona el voia vegnir ch'el possa vegnir sicuramente e quando lo non voia che lo mandi la so zente, et in caso che lo vegnisse cum la so hoste che lo non habia dano de algun membro de la soa persona ni de la soa zente et mandaro lo san e salvo cum la soa zente che da mi non havera algun dano.

(10) Item. che tuti li Franchi, Veneciani, Çenovesi, de Ruodo, Griesi e tuti i Franchi tuti i mercadanti possa vegnir a lo mio paise. e si Dio me dara etiamdio altro paise per mar et per terra che algun non habia dano, e che quello che iera usanza di pagar per avanti che i paga senza altra greveza.

(11) Item. si algun mercadante fesse algun fallo, che algun altro mercadante non debia portar peno salvo quello proprio che haver fatto lo mal.

(12) Item. a lo mio paise et luogi si algun navilio se rompesse, che tuto quello che scapolasse, si haver como persone, sia scapolo e reso.

(13) Item. tute le scale che ho sia averte e che quanto gran che li vora e li possa tuor, e che le mie comerchieri non li dia briga, e che in tuti li luogi onde eli vuol i possa prender, et per lo comerchio di cadaum mozo de Constantinopoli debia pagar yperper j.

(14) Item. che algun mio navilio che vuoga remi non possa insir fuora de le boche ni de sora ni de soto senza parola de lo imperador e de tuta la liga e, si per aventura algun insisse et fosse trovado et fosseli fato dano, che eli se ne habia lo dano e che la paxe romagna semper ferma.

(15) Item. li amaloti de Constantinopoli tuti che e in le mie preson over in man de li mie baroni, over che sia in li feri over che habia li feri al colo, che se truova apreso de mi che io li debia lasar andar.

- (16) Item. che li prisioni de Zenovesi che sia in mi et in le mie prision over in le mie baroni, si li se truova e li debia lasar et onde i truova algun Zenovese prision che io el debia lasar.
- (17) Item. si algun sclavo scampasse dei Çenovesi e fosse ben Musulman, che io lo debia dar, cum questo pato che dapuo che fo la rota del Tamberlan tuti quei mie che se trovasse in le lor man che eli sia lasadi.
- (18) Item. de le prision di Syo che li debia dar xxv amaloti.
- (19) Item. li castelli che ha Zenovesi in lo Mar Mazor che eli non sia tegnudi de pagar trabuto.
- (20) Item. quei v<sup>e</sup> ducati che dara quei de Sio al Signor de Alto Luogo che li non debia pagar niente.
- (21) Item. de le confine de Veneciani si lo fosse preso terre, castelli, casali, ni alguna cossa de le suo confine, che io le debia render e darli Sitines.
- (22) Item. per contra l'isola di Negroponte su la terra ferma li don infra terra mia cinque e si in questi fosse saline ni scala ch'el si mio, e s'il fosse tolto in trato gran del mio paise senza pagar el mio comersio che quei che lo trazesse sia castigadi.
- (23) Item. ch'el Marchexe de la Bondeniza non sia tegnudo altro salvo quello che lo iera tegnudo per avanti a mio pare.
- (24) Item. che si nesun sclavo ni servo vegnisse a scampar a li lor luogi che eli me li debia dar, e per simel si algun lor schiavo ni servo scampasse a li mie luogi che sia tegnudo doverli li dar.
- (25) Item. che quello che dava Nicsin et Alto Luogo et la Palatia, çoe ducati ij<sup>e</sup>, che eli non debia dar niente.
- (26) Item. de li amaloti de Veneciani li daro v<sup>e</sup> amaloti, qual che eli vora, cum questo pato che eli me renda tuti li Turchi che li havera.
- (27) Item. de lo trabuto de Foia Nuova laso ducati v<sup>e</sup>.
- (28) Item. si alguna casion intravegnisse o de sangue o de parole o per che altro muodo se fosse che la paxe non se rompa ma remagna ferma, e che quelle devision che fosse se debia acordar amicabilmente entro meane persone.
- (29) Item. la Salona cum quele confine che manzava la Contessa le ho داده a lo Hospedal de Rudo franche et libere.

#### Summary of Appendix I

(1) A copy of the peace treaty with the Turkish emir Suleyman (Musulman Zalabi), written in Turkish and signed by him and his

barons, translated by ser Pietro Zeno. (2) I, Sultan Suleyman (Musulman Zalabi), son of the great Sultan Bajezid, together with the great Emperor of the Greeks John VII Palaeologus (Caloiani), my father, and with the great comunes, the Hospital of Rhodes, Venice, Genoa, Chios (Sio), and the Duke of Naxos (Nixia), and their possessions in the Aegean Sea (Mar da Basso) and the Black Sea (Mar Mazor), have sworn and contracted true peace. (3) To my father, the Emperor of the Greeks, I have given Thessalonica and Calamaria, Chalcidice and the littoral of the Thermaic Gulf <sup>(1)</sup>. Also I have given him all the land from Panidos on the Sea of Marmora to Constantinople and north to Mesembria on the Black Sea coast <sup>(2)</sup>. He shall not be obliged to any tribute and may build fortresses as he wishes. (4) I also return those fortresses which the emperor held in Turkey <sup>(3)</sup>. (5) If necessary, I shall provide galleys and sailors to aid Constantinople against Tamerlane. (6) I have given him the islands of Skopelos, Skiathos and Skyros. (7) All citizens of Constantinople may return in safety to their homes. (8) Those involved in litigation from the time of my grandfather to now are to be acquitted, except in the case of one individual's debt to another. (9) The Serbian Prince Stephan Lazarević (lo fio de Lazaro) shall retain the land he held in the reign of my father and should pay the tribute he paid to him as well as provide military assistance; I guarantee the safety of him and his men. (10) All Frankish, Venetian, Genoese, Rhodian and Greek merchants may enter my territory in safety and should pay that which they did before this. (11) If a merchant commits a crime, another merchant should not be punished for it. (12) If a shipwreck occurs in my territory, the surviving persons and goods shall be restored. (13) All my ports shall be open nor shall there be any limit on the amount of grain, nor shall my merchants cause trouble; one hyperperon shall be paid for each *mozo* of Constantinople. (14) None of my ships shall enter or leave the Dardanelles (le boche) without the approval of the emperor and the Christian league. (15) I shall release

<sup>(1)</sup> Although all of the place names are not clear, the account coincides very closely with that of DUCAS, *cit. supra*; cf. BAKALOPULOS, *op. cit.*, and the map on p. 64.

<sup>(2)</sup> According to DUCAS, *loc. cit.*, the territory returned to the empire extended further north to Varna.

<sup>(3)</sup> Chalcocandyles also speaks of the Byzantine recovery of areas along the littoral of Asia Minor: *Laonici Chalcocandylae, Historiarum Demonstrationes*, ed. E. DARKÓ, I (Budapest, 1922), p. 163.

the Byzantine prisoners held by me or my barons. (16) Genoese prisoners held by me or my barons shall be freed. (17) If any Moslem slave escapes from the Genoese I shall return him; any subject of mine held by the Genoese after the attack of Tamerlane shall be released. (18) From Chios (Syo) twenty-five prisoners should be returned. (19) The Genoese fortresses along the Black Sea (Mar Mazor) are not obliged to pay tribute. (20) Chios no longer has to pay five hundred ducats to the Lord of Theologo (Alto Luogo). (21) All territory, fortresses, dwellings or anything else taken from Venetian possessions are to be returned, and I shall also give them Athens (Sitines). (22) On the mainland opposite Negroponte I shall give them five miles inland, but saltworks and ports shall be mine. The Venetians shall punish anyone taking grain from my land without paying duty. (23) The Marquess of Bodonitsa is not obligated to anything more than that to which he was held by my father. (24) Slaves escaping from either side shall be returned. (25) The two hundred ducats paid by Naxos, Theologo and Palatia no longer have to be paid. (26) I shall return five hundred Venetian prisoners on the condition that they return all the Turks they hold. (27) I release New Phocaea of five hundred ducats of its tribute. (28) This peace should remain firm and any disagreement should be settled amicably. (29) I have given Salona and its land which had been attacked by the Countess to the Hospitallers of Rhodes <sup>(1)</sup>.

## APPENDIX II

Report of Pietro Zeno, Lord of Andros, to the Venetian Government.  
January - March 1403.

Venice, Archivio di Stato, *Pacta*,  
reg. VI, fol. 131r-131v (anc. 129-129v)

- (1) Copia aliquorum capitulorum insertorum in litteris domini Petri Geno, domini Andrensis, missorum ducali dominio.  
(2) Dapuo azonti in Garipoli al vero le proferte fate per i suo i parse asay e trovasse de li esser vegnudo j<sup>o</sup> so capetanio che se chiama Vranes et altri a chi despiase asay de le cose dade a lo imperio. et ancora trovie esser vegnudo messo de Antuonio Bastardo, el qual

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. SETTON, *op. cit.*, 186-187.

prometeua molti dener perche el non i fosse tolto de le man quei personi che l'avea e Sitines. stesemo in Garipoli plu de zorni viij avanti che esso e li suo baroni volesse zurar li pati de la dita paxe. in le fin luy voleva li fosse lasado bona parte de li confini de borgi dadi a lo imperador. a nuy ne de impazo asai de parecchie cose e a le fin li ambaxiatori de misser l'imperador li lassa alguni confini e lasa li viij fusti de galie che li doveva esser dadi. nuy li convegnissemo proferir li Turchi che haveva la Signoria vostra, e perche io so che non de iera se no da xx in xxv in Candia i li profersi be che ignero muodo de tuor de li amaloti v<sup>e</sup> da xxv in xxx mancho per retegnir i diti Turchi.  
(3) Anchora proferissemo tuti insembre che a questo primo tempo mandaremo al streto, çioe tuta la liga, da quatro over cinque galee per devedar a Timer-bei si lo volesse passar in Grecia, et esser cum esso a lo deviedo de lo dito passo una cossa.

(4) Ancora, perche de li vegniva dito dapuo el nostro zonzer che Antuonio Azaiuoli haveva habudo lo castelo de Sitine e tegniva ancora i vostri prisioni, per non esser menadi per longa a lo receiver del possessio de quei profersi ad Eli basia che e el tuto presso lo Signor et a coluy che mandara a darne el dito possessio mandando tal persone che non voiendo darli el dito Antuonio cum so voler che elo lo convegna dar per força ducati mille dapuo dado lo dito possessio, la qual spexa ne fo conseiado del tuto esser necessaria per le maniere e costume suo. dapuo zurado lor la paxie de presente el sequente di se partissemo.  
(5) Non podessemo recovrar in quel puocho de spacio che nuy stessem se non persone xv de Modon e Coron, e conveni mandar nostro messo cum do homeni de Coron e Modon insembre cum alguni Turchi, mesi del dito Signor, li qual de andar per i casali fina a Salonicho arcoiando de questi vostri. ho ordenado i non toia se non homeni e femene zoveni de Modon e Coron fina al numero de iiij<sup>o</sup>, li cento fixi lasar per tuor quei homeni avantazadi de Negroponte o de altro onde nuy savessem i fosse. e per asunar i diti amaloti, che in vero iera de gran afani, e questo viti per quei puochi che nuy havessem in Garipoli, ho promesso a quei Turchi che ne li menera per fin a Negroponte ducati do per testa, la qual spexa a voler haver nostra intencion del tuto iera necessaria.

(6) Ancora, per un di Agançi, che se spaza per vostro citadin, el qual e gran mercadante in Salonichi usando sempre quei viazi de Salonichi a Negroponte, el qual de nuovo iera vegnudo da Salonichi in Garipoli, me fo dito como el marchexe de la Bondeniza, citadin vostro, havera habudo algun tratado in lo Ziton, el qual iera stado descovert

e zustificadi plusor, per lo qual tratado quei Turchi che iera li suo vesini i fasea grande guera e dani. e adeso de nuovo Vranes, che e signor circa presso queste parte, havea comandamento de andar ad asidiarlo e desfarlo del tuto. apreso me dixè che j<sup>o</sup> zovene che se clama Ordelafo Falier iera vegnudo in Salonicho mercadante cum salvo condoto, el qual iera pasado de questa vita, et iera stado tolto tuto quello el se trovava haver che iera so e de ser Piero Gradenigo, che iera de valor de do in iij<sup>m</sup> ducati, digando i diti Turchi haverlo tolto cum rasion, perche la fida non se intendeva se non fina a la vita soa. per le qual do cosse me messi soto quei suo baroni Turchi e fixi tanto per contamination de dener che al dito marchexe li fixi li fosse perdonado e fato meter e scriver in la paxie.

(7) Apresso che quello so baron che va a meter lo imperio de Constantinopoli in possession de Salonichi e darve a vuy Sitines e quei altri luogi, che li ne die dar die designarme e darne tuto el dito haver tolto de la comesaria de ser Ordelafo Falier, per le qual do casion li profersi de dar ducati v<sup>e</sup> de li qual faro pagar al marchexe ducati iij<sup>e</sup> e li ije per la mercadantia che se recovrera. li dener che se pagara per questi amaloti de Coron e Modon faremo eli i pagara e per simel avixo far pagar a quei de Sitines la spexa de quello.

(8) Ancora, perche in Garipoli nuy persentimo per di Agançi e per altri che tute quele forteze e luogi habitadi che e per mezo questa isola de Negroponte, el stava e habitava molti Turchi, e apreso la intention de li Turchi iera de non de dar alcun luogo habitado, digando che s'el fosse algun luogo onde non habitasse Turchi, eli intendeva che li suo suditi benche li fosse Griesi se intendesse con Turchi como suo homeni che li so. per le qual caxon habiando information che li diti luogi havea asa rosionivol intrada, si per lo utele como per haver materia de trar li Turchi de queste parte de le marine e per esser li diti luogi in obedientia de la Signoria vostra, benche de Constantinopoli dal bailo e capetanio vostro io non havesse de questo alguna information, io termenie de tratar per contamination de deneri cum el parer e conseio de ser Marco Grimani de poder haver quei, e tegnissemo muodo che tuto ne fo concesso fina a mia cinque infra terra quanto dura la longeza de l'isola de Nigroponte, trazando le saline de lo Ziton et el comerchio de la scala de li formenti che insira de li suo luogi a li qual suo baroni proferissemo de marzaria per la dita concession ducati do milia. ben e vero che j<sup>o</sup> luogo che se chiama la Stelida ien sta proferto per alguna quantitate de dener at Dragazi, citadin vostro, el qual luogo e in questi a lo qual i lo concedessemo

cum condicion ch'el non possa far ni edificar alguna forteza senza licencia de la Signoria vostra. e apreso ch'el dia per le spexe se faxe f. 131<sup>v</sup> per diti fati quella // parte del dener che ne parera raxonivel. denotando a la serenitade vostra chomo vegnudo nuy de qui havemo recherido questo rezimento de pagar questi ducati iij<sup>m</sup> quando haveremo ricevudo el possessio de quei per nome de la Signoria vostra, li qual ha termenado de voler tuor solamente per la Signoria vostra le forteze e luogi de lo Ropo e del Sichameno e pagar la parte tochera a li diti luogi di questa spexa de li ducati iij<sup>m</sup>, e de li altri luogi li non se vuol impazar senza parola e comandamento de la serenitade vostra. per la qual cosa per non vegnir a mancho de le proferte nostre, ser Marco Grimani e stado contento pagar el terzo de li diti dener e mile do parte e ricever tuti questi luogi che non vuol el regimento fina al comandamento de la serenitade vostra. siando nuy contenti sempre che'l piaqua a la grandeza vostra che habiando nuy pagadi li diti dener e ricevudo li diti luogi, nuy tignamo quei ad ogni stado e honor de la Signoria vostra, recognosandoli de la grandeza vostra digandove ogni ano de recognosansa de quanto staremo in paxe ducati ije d'oro e quando fossemo in guerra non esser tagnudi de dar li diti ducati ije fina che dura quella, ma quei ne debia romagnir per suvention e forteza de questi forteze, e quando li diti luogi plaqua tuor per la Signoria vostra, lo e al vostro comando e piaser pregando la serenitade vostra de comandar el ne sia dado e restituido li dener nostri che haveremo pagadi per li diti luogi, oferandome sempre lo haver e persona a tuti i comandamenti de la serenitade vostra.

### *Summary of Appendix II*

(1) A copy of some notes included in the letters of ser Pietro Zeno, Lord of Andros, to the Venetian government. (2) After arriving in Gallipoli (Garipoli), Suleyman made many offers, but one of his captains there, Evrenos-bey (Vranes), and others were greatly displeased at the concessions made to the empire. There was also a messenger from Antonio Acciajuoli (Antuonio Bastardo), who promised a large sum so that he would not lose the persons he held in Athens (Sitines). We remained in Gallipoli more than eight days before Suleyman and his barons decided to swear to the terms of the peace treaty. He wanted to recover some of the territory given to the emperor (John VII) and, after some difficulty, the emperor's envoy grant-

ed him some of the land as well as eight galleys. Although there were a number of problems, we agreed to offer him the Turkish prisoners held by Venice. (3) Then the entire Christian league decided to send four or five galleys to unite with Suleyman in case Tamerlane should attempt to cross over into Greece. (4) After our arrival we learned that Antonio Acciajuoli had captured the acropolis of Athens (lo castelo de Sitine) and still held your men in prison. So that recovering them would not take too long, I offered to Ali Pasha (Eli basia), who is very close to Suleyman, a thousand ducats if he could assist me, using force if necessary. After swearing to observe the treaty we departed the next day. (5) In that brief period we were able to recover only fifteen persons from Coron and Modon, so that our messenger together with some Turks went as far as Thessalonica to gather your citizens. I ordered that they should take only young men and women from Coron and Modon to the number of four hundred, the other hundred I left for the men from Negroponte or elsewhere. Because the prisoners were in great distress and because of the scarcity of victuals in Gallipoli, I promised those Turks two ducats per person to bring them to Negroponte, for that expense seemed absolutely necessary. (6) A certain di Agançi, who claims to be a Venetian citizen, and is a noted merchant in Thessalonica, arrived in Gallipoli from Thessalonica and informed me that the Marquess of Bodonitsa, your citizen, had obtained some land in Zeitounion (lo Zitoun), which led the neighboring Turks to attack him inflicting heavy damage. Now Evrenos-bey (Vranes), who rules in that area, has determined to attack and despoil him of everything. I also learned that a young merchant, Ordelafo Falier, had died after arriving in Thessalonica and all the goods were taken which belonged to him and to ser Piero Gradenigo, valued at from two to three thousand ducats. Concerning these two matters I bribed the Turkish barons and had the Marquess of Bodonitsa included in the treaty. (7) The Turkish baron who is going to restore Thessalonica to the Byzantine Empire and Athens and other places to you is to give me the goods of Falier, for which I promised him five hundred ducats, of which I shall pay three hundred to the Marquess and two hundred for the merchandise he should recover. (8) In Gallipoli we also learned that many Turks dwelt along Negroponte and did not wish to give up any of their land, and the Greeks there supported them. By bribery I was able to obtain five miles inland on the mainland opposite Negroponte, for which I promised the Turks two thousand ducats. Still, one place

called Stelis (la Stelida) we granted to Dragazi, your citizen, on the condition that he would not erect any fortifications without your consent. We have requested this regimen (Negroponte) to pay those two thousand ducats, but they wished to obtain for Venice only the forts of Ropo and Sichameno until they should receive further orders from you. In order not to fall short of our promises, ser Marco Grimani has offered to pay one third and myself the other two thirds for that territory, for which we would like to be reimbursed.

### APPENDIX III

Decision of the Venetian Senate to reimburse Pietro Zeno and Marco Grimani for the expenses incurred by them in negotiating the peace treaty with the Turks.

June 2, 1403

Venice, Archivio di Stato,  
*Senato, Misti* 46, fol. 88<sup>v</sup>.

† Sapientes consilii. capta. mccciiij die secundo junij.

Cum nobilis vir ser Petrus Geno, dominus Andros, tanquam bene dispositus ad honorem nostrum personaliter fuerit anno preterito in partibus Constantinopolis exercitando multo tempore personam suam de voluntate rectorum nostrorum de inde in tractatibus pacis concludere inter utrumque filium Basayti, et maxime cum illo qui dominatur in partibus Grecie, in quibus tractatibus procuravit honorem nostrum, comodum et utilitatem locorum et subditorum nostrorum, sicut est omnibus manifestum, et ob dictam causam ducatorum cxlv in presentando barones dictorum dominorum et in solvendo notariis qui fecerunt scripturas, ut constitit officialibus eorum, et ultra hoc pro expensis sibi et duobus suis famulis factis per ser Marcum Grimani tribus mensibus cum dimidio, ut ab ipso clare habitum est, expensam fixerit ducatorum xl et ultra quia, ut dictus ser Marcus asserit, habuit ab eo tantum quod fuerit sibi plene et plusquam satisfactum, ulterius apud hoc ipse nobilis nunquam cessavit, sed pluries laboravit eundo ad diversas partes pro executione promissorum in parte predicta que fieri non potuerit sine magno incomodo et labore persone sue, et propterea honestum et debitum sit providere quod ipse nobilis habeat expensam per ipsum factam cum illari animo contentus fuerit et sit operasse personam suam in servicijs nostri comunis;

vadit pars quod dicti cxlv ducati expensati per ipsum nobilem dari debeant nobili viro ser Barbono Mauroceno, ut scribit, et similiter ducati xl pro expensa quam fecit in stando tribus mensibus cum dimidio ad mensam dicti ser Marci cum duobus famulis, cum satis esse debeat nostro dominio habuisse exercitum persone sue et non velle quod expenderet suam pecuniam.

De parte – 51, non – 7, non sinceri – 4.

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## FOUR UNKNOWN LETTERS OF MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS

Well over a century ago J. Berger de Xivrey pointed out that any serious study of Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus must be based on his letters <sup>(1)</sup>. Although other sources have since added substantially to our knowledge, his observation still remains valid. While the letters of Manuel follow the rules of Byzantine epistolography in their disregard for names, dates and other concrete details, nonetheless, beneath the mass of Palaeologan rhetoric, a surprising amount of information about the man and his times may reveal itself to the attentive reader.

It has long been known that the basic manuscript is the *codex Parisinus graecus* 3041, from which E. Legrand published the letters in 1893. His edition, however, is little more than a transcript, and his projected second volume of commentary never appeared <sup>(2)</sup>. The *Paris. gr.* 3041 contains a number of marginal and interlinear corrections, both in Manuel's letters and in his « Dialogue on Marriage » (fol. 89-104), which many scholars believe were made by the imperial author himself. Close examination of those corrections bears out that surmise, for while some are merely concerned with improving

(1) J. BERGER DE XIVREY, *Mémoire sur la vie et les ouvrages de l'empereur Manuel Paléologue* (*Mémoires de l'Institut de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 19 : Paris, 1853), 1.

The present article contains the substance of a paper delivered at the Thirteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies held at Oxford from 5 to 10 September 1966.

(2) E. LEGRAND, *Lettres de l'Empereur Manuel Paléologue* (Paris, 1893), Preface. All trace of his notes for the projected commentary seem to have vanished : cf. M. TREU, *Demetrios Chrysoloras und seine hundert Briefe*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 20 (1911), 106-128, esp. 110, n. 1 ; H. PERNOT, *Notice sur la vie et les œuvres d'Émile Legrand* (Paris, 1900).

the style, others are of a decidedly personal nature and could only have been made by the author. At any rate, the corrections are in a hand contemporary with that of the scribe, but not in that of a professional copyist. The *Paris. gr.* 3041, then, must be considered as having the authority of an autograph manuscript.

In the Paris manuscript the letters of Manuel begin on fol. 2. Folios 1 and 1v contain the end of a work which has generally been neglected or else regarded as a rhetorical exercise or perhaps a florid preface to the letters. Actually, there are three short pieces, the first of which is incomplete at the beginning. Moreover, they are in epistolary form, and the last piece explicitly states that it is the fourth in a series of letters to the same individual. Obviously some initial pages of the Paris manuscript are missing. Enough, however, of the original Greek numbering of the folios remains to determine that what is now fol. 1 was originally fol. 27. Assuredly, it would be difficult to study these two and a half letters from the Paris manuscript alone, but Manuel's letters, as well as some of his other writings, were copied into the *cod. Vat. Barberinus gr.* 219 almost certainly during the emperor's lifetime. There his letters are found on fol. 53v-88v, two of them being omitted (numbers 53 and 59 of Legrand's edition), making sixty-two letters in all. Immediately following (fol. 89-90v) and numbered consecutively — 63-66 — are four items entitled: *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολαὶ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως εἰρημέναι*. They are the same which the Paris manuscript contains in a mutilated form.

Although the title, «Hypothetical Letters», might indicate that we have to do with simply another example of a common Byzantine literary pastime, still, their position and numbering in the Barberini manuscript as well as their contents make it clear that they were originally real letters, whether later revised or not. The title and the suppression of the addressee's name may well have been prompted by political or personal considerations.

The four letters may be summarized as follows <sup>(1)</sup>:

(1) The full text and translation of the letters will appear in our projected edition of the Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus.

*Letter 1 (63).* Many men today have turned to slander, impelled perhaps by fear, although some blame fortune and look upon their evil ways as respectable. What you are now doing is madness. Therefore, either cease your wickedness or, at least, show some shame so that we may hope for your reformation.

*Letter 2 (64).* You are not the honorable man you claim to be but a contemptible one. Although preeminent in insolent jesting, you still felt it terrible if you did not also direct your attack against us. You attempt to show that we are rivals in a contest of slander. Moreover, you regard the present wretched time as a god-given opportunity and you spare nobody at all; you rejoice and enrich yourself in this period of general decline. You do not realize that you too are implicated in these grievous circumstances, and this leads others to grieve for you. You glory in your good fortune at a time when better men are tried by evil fortune. Most shameless of all, however, is your effort to ascribe your own evil ways to us. While I should not condescend to reply to your nonsense, still, something must be said to bring you to your senses. But your impudence has now brought you to this point: some grieved, some laughed, but everyone jeered when your letter was read. As you desired, many were present, and you received an appropriate reward.

*Letter 3 (65).* Why do you continue to act so shamelessly in trying to ascribe what you are doing to others? Perhaps you actually believe in your superior skill, but you will never convince anyone else, since your reputation has already been ruined by your own deeds. Everyone knows that your chief interest lies in trying to goad us. You profit from the misfortunes of others, and the present state of affairs only assists in making you worse. Do as you will, then, and perhaps some will praise you, but we, ever mindful of our position, shall still hope you will come to your senses, and if you ever return here we shall gladly see you.

*Letter 4 (66).* Since my earlier attempts to bring you to your senses seem to have been useless, I am now sending this fourth letter with a severe warning. Certain of your friends



have been inducing me to do this very thing for some time, even though I was quite unwilling. But now that you have come and indicated the same sort of thing which they had requested, and it was clear that you had only become worse, I am now taking proper action and am finished with the matter.

Since the sources for much of Manuel's reign are either fragmentary, unreliable or simply non-existent, it is clearly impossible for the historian to determine with any certainty the addressee or the context of the above letters. Yet, with the aid of two other unpublished documents, a plausible hypothesis could be presented, which is all that is proposed in these pages.

It seems likely that these four letters of Manuel were addressed to the troublesome bishop of Ancyra, Macarius, and that they were written either in the year preceeding his deposition in September 1405 or in that preceeding his excommunication in August 1409. The almost irrational hatred of Macarius and of his fellow bishop and conspirator, Matthew of Medeia, against the Patriarch Matthew is well known, and there also exist solid grounds for believing that they had supported John VII, Manuel's nephew and rival for the throne <sup>(1)</sup>. Shortly after his deposition in 1405 Macarius wrote an extremely confused canonical treatise, attacking the patriarch and defending himself, which is found in the *codd. Paris. gr.* 1378 and 1379. In the *Paris. gr.* 1379 Macarius cites a *horismos* sent to him by the emperor about 1404-1405, in which the following elements are stressed: Your booklet has clarified what I have long suspected; you simply want full leave to quarrel and cause trouble for everyone, and I cannot allow this. You have constantly been demanding a synod to attack the patriarch. Now, I am convoking one so that you may try

(1) Cf. L. PETIT, *Macaire d'Ancyre*, in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, IX, 2, 1441-1443; V. LAURENT, *Un paradoxe théologique: La forme de la consécration épiscopale selon le métropolitain d'Ancyre Macaire*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 13 (1947), 551-561; H. HUNGER, *Das Testament des Patriarchen Matthaios I (1397-1410)*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 51 (1958), 288-309.

to defend yourself. Since you persist in your wickedness, I order you to attend and prove what you can. Do not trouble me any longer, since I cannot suffer any more annoyance of this sort, and I also have many other things to do <sup>(1)</sup>.

At the same time Manuel wrote to the patriarch on the matter, explaining that he had delayed convoking a synod in the hope that Macarius might reform, but since he had not, the synod should meet and judge him <sup>(2)</sup>. Matthew of Medeia is quoted as having declared that he felt the same as Macarius, although it was Macarius who had written the actual attacks against the patriarch <sup>(3)</sup>. Both were then deposed by the synod in 1405.

Further and probably more reliable information on the topic is found in another document, the synodal tome of August 1409 which excommunicated the troublesome pair; it exists in the *cod. Vat. gr.* 1858, fol. 28-42v, which from the writing and the watermark must be a contemporary copy. The tome recounts the history of the conflict with particular stress on the fact that since 1405 both Macarius and Matthew, while pretending to live as monks, had been engaged in a veritable contest of slander against both the patriarch and the emperor himself. Macarius in particular had written insulting letters against Manuel, and kept demanding another synod to judge the patriarch. According to the tome, the emperor employed every effort to restrain them and tried to deal kindly with them, especially with Macarius, but all to no avail. Finally in the summer of 1409 he issued a decree, the gist of which is as follows: Because of your insults against both the patriarch and myself I could have taken very strong action and brought you to trial, but I continued to hope that you would come to your senses and reform. Slander was evil enough, but since you have insisted on a synod and have accused the patriarch of heresy, I shall convoke a synod whether you wish it or not <sup>(4)</sup>.

(1) *Cod. Paris. gr.* 1379, fol. 52-52v.

(2) *Ibid.*, fol. 52v.

(3) *Ibid.*, fol. 53.

(4) *Cod. Vat. gr.* 1858, fol. 32-32v.

Many of the expressions in the imperial decrees and the synodal tome are strikingly similar to Manuel's more rhetorical phraseology in the four letters summarized above. The strong action that he states he is forced to take in the fourth letter might very well refer to the convocation of the synod, probably that of 1409. As a tentative conclusion, then, I should like to submit that the four hitherto unknown letters of Manuel were written to Macarius of Ancyra in the year 1408-1409.

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## TWO UNKNOWN DOCUMENTS OF MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS

(PLANCHES I-III)

Every Byzantine scholar cannot help but be filled with a deep sense of admiration and appreciation at the completion of Professor Dölger's *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, already an indispensable instrument of research.<sup>1</sup> Despite the vast erudition and painstaking exactness of the editors, however, such a massive undertaking is necessarily fated to be somewhat incomplete owing to the simple fact that our documentation, particularly for the late Palaeologan period, is itself incomplete. Undoubtedly, as yet unknown documents or references to such still lie hidden in scattered archives and libraries. The present article aims at publishing the text of two hitherto unknown documents, which were discovered too late to be included in the fifth volume of the *Regesten*.

Both documents were issued by Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus during his sojourn in Paris (1400-1402) and deal with the granting of relics to western rulers. The prominent role played by relics in the foreign policy of Manuel II is well known, and there seems little need to dwell on it here.<sup>2</sup> The two documents published below concern the granting to Queen Margaret of Denmark and to Pope Boniface IX of a particle of the robe of Christ which, according to the gospel (Matthew 9, 20-22), healed the woman suffering from an issue of blood. It is interesting to note that during the period of Manuel's residence in Paris King Martin I of Aragon, King Charles III of Navarre, King John I of Portugal and Pope Benedict XIII of

1. *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*. 5. Teil. *Regesten von 1341-1453*, ed. F. DÖLGER and P. WIRTH (Munich, 1965), hereafter referred to as DÖLGER, *Regesten*. For a sympathetic and informative evaluation see C. CAPIZZI, *Passi decisivi nella storiografia bizantina: i Regesten di Franz Dölger*, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 32, 1966, p. 252-264.

2. E. g. cf. DÖLGER, *Regesten*, numbers 3281, 3282, 3284, 3285, 3290; S. CIRAC-ESTOPAÑAN, *Bizancio y España. La unión, Manuel II Paleólogo y sus recuerdos en España*, Barcelona, 1952; J. W. BARKER, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425), A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship*, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1966).

Avignon all received portions of that same apparently ample garment<sup>3</sup>. The Republic of Venice, incidentally, to which Manuel had also offered the relic a few years previously had expressed a decided lack of interest.<sup>4</sup> The present article will limit itself to a summary and a description of each document, the publication of the text (a diplomatic edition in the case of the first, since it is an original) and a few brief notes, leaving a more detailed analysis to specialists.

## I

Paris. 20-23 November 1402. *Litterae patentes (imperiales)*.

Manuel Palaeologus, Emperor of the Romans, has journeyed to Western Europe to seek aid against the Turks, and has brought with him some of the sacred relics preserved in Constantinople. From among those relics he grants to Margaret, Queen of Denmark, Sweden and Norway a particle of the garment worn by Christ which healed the woman of the issue of blood; in confirmation of its authenticity he issues the present imperial document, which he has signed in red ink and to which he has appended his golden seal.

The original of this document is now located in the monastery of El Escorial under the number: *cod. Scorial. gr. ω-IV-19*.<sup>5</sup> It is on parchment in a good state of preservation, a bit yellowed with age and worn on the edges, measuring mm. 526 × 331. The text is written in a clear black ink turning to brown; on the left side is the Latin text and the Greek version is on the right, while the emperor's signature in large red letters extends all

3. DÖLGER, *Regesten*, loc. cit.

4. On 9 December 1395 the Byzantine ambassador brought up the subject to the Venetian government and was told that an envoy would soon be sent to Constantinople to discuss that and other matters: Venice, *Archivio di Stato, Senato, Segreta E*, fol. 120. On 17 February 1396 the Venetian ambassadors to the Levant were given their commission, which reads in part as follows: „Insuper, quia pridie quando ambassiator ipsius domini imperatoris fuit ad presenciam nostram ipse requisivit a nobis subventionem pecunie dicendo de volendo nobis in pignore dare vestem Yhesu Christi et alias certas reliquias suas, ... committimus vobis quod in causa quo ipse dominus imperator dum eritis secum faciat vobis de hoc mentionem, et vos respondere debeatis quod dominatio nostra consideravit et considerat quod difficiliter ille reliquie removeri possent de Constantinopoli sine scientia suorum qui illas habent in tanta reverentia, quod si istud viderent male pacienter tolerarent et de levi possent scandalum suscitare.” Venice, *Archivio di Stato, Senato, Misti* 43, fol. 108.

5. The parchment was kept in the sacristy rather than in the library of the monastery. A description of it is furnished in the second volume of the catalogue of Greek manuscripts in the Escorial prepared by Fr. Gregorio de Andrés, whom I would like to thank for his assistance in my study of the document; at the same time I should like to express my gratitude to J. Darrouzès, who first informed me of its existence.

the way across the bottom of the page. On the reverse is simply the notation: “Atestación de la parte de púrpura de Nr. Sr.”. The seal is of gold, measuring mm. 37 × 36 and weighing eight grams; the ribbon attaching it to the parchment is of a somewhat faded brownish color and worn in parts.

On the obverse of the seal is a standing figure of the emperor holding a scroll in his left hand and a cross in his right, with the inscription: MA || NOY || HA EN || XΩ AY || TOKPA || TWP || O || ΠA || ΛAI || OAO || ΓO || C. The reverse bears the image of Christ standing before (perhaps seated on) a throne, holding a book in his left hand with his right hand extended apparently in blessing. About him is inscribed: IC || XC, while on the left below IC is found a Φ, more probably a combined form of ΦΡ.

The relic and the reliquary disappeared in the course of the war against Napoleon in 1808.<sup>6</sup> How and when it came into the possession of King Philipp II of Spain is not known. A copy of the Latin text, with no variations of importance, exists in Sweden and was published in 1903.<sup>7</sup>

## TEXT

*cod. Scorial. gr. ω-IV-19.*

Manuel in Christo Deo fidelis imperator et moderator Romeorum Paleologus et <sup>2</sup>semper augustus universis et singulis has nostras patentes litteras inspecturis salutem <sup>3</sup>in eo qui est omnium vera salus.

Misericors miserator et justus Dominus noster Jhesus Christus <sup>4</sup>seipsum pro nobis offerens Deo Patri ostiam immaculatam in ara crucis in memoriam sue <sup>5</sup>mirabilis passionis, cuius memores suos fideles filios esse volens ex hoc mundo corporali <sup>6</sup>presencia cum discessit, in terris aliqua signa sanctifica eis dimisit. Nos igitur habentes <sup>7</sup>nonnulla ipsius nostri Redemptoris sanctificia veneranda in nostra civitate Constantinopolis, <sup>8</sup>ut traditum habemus a nostris progenitoribus serenissimis imperatoribus per autentica <sup>9</sup>documenta et per cronicas approbatas, que omnia per ipsos et nos fideliter ac reverenter <sup>10</sup>custodita ac conservata sunt, et novissime propter oppressiones ac persecuciones horrendorum <sup>11</sup>Turcorum, hostium nominis Ihesu Christi cuius nomen sanctissimum de terra et presertim in <sup>12</sup>nostro imperio Romanie toto posse abolere nituntur, ad has occidentis partes aliasque <sup>13</sup>Christianorum regum et principum fidelium regiones pro orientalium Christianorum subsidio <sup>14</sup>obtinendo nos causa conduxerit specialis, nobiscum aliqua ex illis sanctificiis apportavimus. <sup>15</sup>Et considerantes

6. A description of the reliquary is found in: *Inventario de las alhajas, pinturas y objetos de valor y curiosidad donados por Felipe II al Monasterio de El Escorial (1571-1598)*, published by Fr. Julián ZARCO CUEVAS, Madrid, 1930, p. 106-107.

7. *Svenskt Diplomatarium*, IV, *Supplément* 1401-1420, Stockholm, 1903, no. 2948, p. 95-96.

illustrissimam et excellentissimam dominam Margaretam, Dei gracia reginam [<sup>16</sup> Dacie, Suecie et Norvegie, honorandam consanguineam nostram, in hiis ob reverenciam [<sup>17</sup> Salvatoris magnam gerere devocionem, cupientesque in hoc eius pium et sanctum affectum [<sup>18</sup> assequi quod intendit, de predictis sanctificiis Dei nostri eidem aliquid duximus tribuendum. [<sup>19</sup> Dedimus namque prefate illustrissime regine, consanguinee nostre, parvam particulam sancte [<sup>20</sup> tunice ipsius Redemptoris nostri Jhesu Christi, coloris quasi blavii, illius scilicet vestimenti [<sup>21</sup> cuius fimbriam tangens mulier que fluxum sanguinis paciebatur continuo ab eius morbo [<sup>22</sup> sanata est. Et ut in hiis omnibus vera et indubitata fides adhibeatur, hoc nostrum patens [<sup>23</sup> fieri fecimus imperiale programa, subscripcione proprie manus grecis et verbis litteris [<sup>24</sup> de rubeo ut nostri imperii moris est et nostro aureo pendenti sigillo grecis litteris desuper [<sup>25</sup> sculpto munimine roboratum. Datum Parisiis anno dominice nativitatís millesimo [<sup>26</sup> quadringentesimo secundo, die vicesima mensis Novembris, indictione undecima.

Μανουήλ ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων ὁ Παλαιολόγος καὶ [<sup>2</sup> αἰ ἀύγουστος πᾶσι καὶ ἐκάστῳ τοῖς τὰς ἀνεωγμένους ἡμετέρας βασιλικὰς γραφὰς ὁφισμένοις [<sup>3</sup> σωτηρίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος πᾶσι σ(ω)τη(ρ)ία.

Ὁ οἰκτεῖρμων καὶ δίκαιος Κ(ύρι)ος ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστ)ὸς προσενεγκὼν [<sup>4</sup> ἑαυτὸν τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ καὶ Π(ατ)ρί θυσίαν ἁμῶν διὰ σ(αυ)ροῦ εἰς μνήμην τῶν αὐτοῦ θαυμαστῶν [<sup>5</sup> παθημάτων, ὧν μεμνημένους εἶναι ἠθέλησε τοὺς πιστοὺς αὐτοῦ υἱοὺς ἐξότου ἀφείλεν ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος [<sup>6</sup> κόσμου τὴν σωματικὴν αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν, ἐγκατέλειπεν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ γῇ τινὰ τιμιώτατα ἀγιάσματα. Ἡμεῖς [<sup>7</sup> οὖν ἔχοντες ἐκ τούτων τῶν τοῦ ἡμετέρου Αὐτρωτοῦ τιμιωτάτων ἀγιασμάτων εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν τὴν [<sup>8</sup> Κωνσταντίνου καταγόμενα ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων τῶν λαμπροτάτων βασιλέων διὰ παραδόσεων [<sup>9</sup> ἀναντηρήτων καὶ ιστοριῶν δεδοκιμασμένων, ὅ πάντα δι' ἐκείνων καὶ ἡμῶν πιστῶς καὶ σεβασμῶς διε- [<sup>10</sup> φυλάχθησαν καὶ διετηρήθησαν νεωστὶ δὲ διὰ τὸν ὠθισμὸν καὶ διωγμὸν τῶν μισητῶν Τούρκων [<sup>11</sup> καὶ ἐχθρῶν τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ), ὅπερ ὄνομα ἀγιώτατον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἰδίως τῆς ἡμετέρας [<sup>12</sup> ἀρχῆς τῆς Ῥωμανίας πάσῃ δυνάμει ἀφανίσαι βιάζονται, εἰς ταῦτα τὰ δυσικά μέρη καὶ εἰς [<sup>13</sup> ἄλλας π(ατ)ρίδας Χριστιανῶν ῥηγῶν καὶ ἀρχόντων πιστῶν ὥστε τυχεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ Χριστι- [<sup>14</sup> ἀνῶν βοήθειας ἡλθομεν συνωθισθέντες τῇ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐπιθέσει, φέροντες μεθ' ἡμῶν καὶ τινὰ [<sup>15</sup> τῶν εἰρημένων ἀγιασμάτων. Καὶ γινόντες τὴν λαμπροτάτην καὶ ὑψηλοτάτην κυρὰν Μαργαρίταν, Θ(εο)ῦ [<sup>16</sup> χάριτι ῥήγαινεν τῆς Δατζίας, Σουετζίας καὶ Νουρβηγίας, τετιμημένην συγγενίδα ἡμετέραν, διὰ τὸ [<sup>17</sup> σέβας τοῦ Αὐτρωτοῦ μεγάλῃν εὐλάβειαν ἔχουσιν, καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντες εἰς τοῦτο τὴν αὐτῆς εὐσεβῆ [<sup>18</sup> καὶ ἁγίαν ζέσιν ἔχειν ὥς ἐφίεται, ἀπὸ τῶν προειρημένων ἀγιασμάτων τι αὐτῇ ἐχαρισάμεθα ἔδω- [<sup>19</sup> καμεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν εἰρημένην λαμπροτάτην ῥήγαινεν καὶ ἡμετέραν συγγενίδα μικρὰν μερίδα [<sup>20</sup> τοῦ ἁγίου βούχου τοῦ Αὐτρωτοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ), ὥσπερ χρῶμα ἡεραναῖον, ἡ(τοι) ἀπὸ τοῦ βούχου οὐπερ ἦφατο [<sup>21</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ χρασπέδου ἡ γυνὴ ἡ αἰμορροοῦσα καὶ εὐθὺς ἀπηλλάγη τῆς ἀσθενείας. Καὶ εἰς τὴν περὶ τούτων [<sup>22</sup> τῶν προειρημένων ἀληθινὴν καὶ ἀναμφίβολον πίστιν γενέσθαι, ἐποιήσαμεν τὴν παρούσαν ἡ- [<sup>23</sup> μετέραν ἀνεωγμένην

βασιλικὴν γραφὴν ὑπογραφῇ ἰδίᾳ τῆς ἐμῆς χειρὸς ἐρυθροῖς ἑλληνικοῖς [<sup>24</sup> γράμμασι καὶ διαλέκτῳ ὡς τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας ἔθος ἐστὶν ἀπηρτισμένως ἀσφαλισθεῖσαν [<sup>25</sup> καὶ ἡμετέρα χρυσῇ βούλλῃ κρεμμασθεῖση ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασιν ἐπαναγεγραμμένη. Ἐδόθη [<sup>26</sup> ἐν τῷ Παρυσίῳ ἐν ἔτει ἀπὸ τῆς Χ(ριστο)ῦ γεννήσεως χιλιοστῷ τετρακοσιοστῷ β', κγ' Νοε(μβ)ρ(ιου), ἐν(δ)ικτιῶνος ια' : +

[<sup>27</sup> Μανουήλ ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων) [<sup>28</sup> ὁ Παλαιολόγος.

Apart from the imperial title and signature, the protocol and terminology of the document are distinctly western, for example, the term, *litterae patentes* and its literal translation into Greek, the usage of addressing a fellow sovereign as "cousin", and the western style of dating even in the Greek version. In addition, the fact that the Latin text is dated on 20 November and the Greek on 23 November would imply that the document was first drawn up in Latin and then translated into Greek. In general the wording is almost identical with similar letters of Manuel sent to western rulers.<sup>8</sup>

Assuredly the emperor hoped that his gift of the relic would secure some sort of assistance from Queen Margaret (1353-1412), from 1390 the real ruler of the Scandinavian countries.<sup>9</sup> Apart from the present document, however, practically nothing is known of the relationship between Byzantium and Scandinavia at this period. Possibly direct military or financial contributions were expected by Manuel, or perhaps he intended that Margaret should exert her influence on his behalf with other western rulers.

The datation of the document, 20 and 23 November 1402, enables us to determine somewhat more precisely the date of Manuel's departure from Paris. Throughout 1402 the Venetian Senate had been urging him to return to Constantinople as soon as possible.<sup>10</sup> On 7 December of that year the Serenissima informed the envoy of the son of Bajezid (presumably Suleiman) that it had been urging him to hasten his return journey, and actually had reason to believe that he might already be on the way.<sup>11</sup> On 29 December Manuel's ambassador appeared in Venice with the news that

8. E. g. see the documents given in CIRAC-ESTOPAÑAN, *op. cit.*, p. 100-104; also C. MARINESCO, Manuel II Paléologue et les rois d'Aragon, *Bulletin de l'Académie Roumaine, sect. hist.* II, Bucarest, 1924, p. 194-201.

9. K. ERSLEV, *Danmarks historie under dronning Margarethe*, Copenhagen, 1882-1901; HILL, *Margaret of Denmark*, London, 1898.

10. For example, on 29 January: F. THIRIET, *Régestes des délibérations du sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, II, Paris—La Haye, 1959, no. 1039; and on 9 October: *ibid.*, no. 1074.

11. "... Et per illa que habuimus ipse rationabiliter debet esse in via ita quod eum reperiat ut speramus in partibus Italie." Venice, *Archivio di Stato, Senato, Misti* 46, fol. 58v.

the emperor had left France for Italy.<sup>12</sup> By 22 January 1403 he had arrived in Genoa.<sup>13</sup> At any rate, the present document makes it clear that Manuel was still in Paris on 23 November 1402; very probably, then, he departed from Paris on his long homeward journey late in November or early in December 1402.<sup>14</sup>

## II

Paris. 5 July 1401. *Litterae patentes (imperiales)*.

Manuel Palaeologus, Emperor of the Romans, has journeyed to Western Europe to seek aid against the Turks, and has brought with him some of the sacred relics preserved in Constantinople. From among those relics he grants to Pope Boniface (IX) a particle of the garment of Christ which healed the woman of the issue of blood; in confirmation of its authenticity he issues the present imperial document, which he has signed in red ink and to which he has appended his golden seal.

This document is a copy of the Greek text apparently made by an Italian scribe in the eighteenth century. The original was written in both Latin and Greek, presumably following the same format as the preceding one, and was located in the Certosa monastery outside Florence. The copy is presently in the Gennadius Library in Athens on fol. 219-219<sup>v</sup> of *cod.* 39, a miscellaneous manuscript containing varied items from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries.<sup>15</sup> The original seems to have disappeared; at least, the present writer could find no record or trace of it in the Certosa or in the libraries and archives in Florence. As with the first document, the protocol and terminology is western, and the Greek text was probably a translation of the Latin original.

12. *Ibid.*, fol. 60.

13. Georgius STELLA, *Annales Genuenses*, ed. L. A. MURATORI, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 17, Milan, 1730, p. 1196.

14. A. A. VASILJEV had placed Manuel's decision to leave Paris on 21 November 1402 and his actual departure on 29 December: *Putešestvie vizantijskogo imperatora Manuila II Paleologa po zapadnoj Evrope*, *Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvěšćenija*, N. S. 39, 1912, p. 288-290; THIRIET, *op. cit.*, no. 1083, citing N. Iorga, places his departure on 14 November 1402.

15. For information regarding this document I should like to express my gratitude to Dr. Athanasios Kominis of the Royal Hellenic Research Foundation in Athens who is currently engaged in cataloguing the manuscripts of the Gennadius Library.

## TEXT

Athens, Gennadius Library,  
*cod.* 39, fol. 219-219<sup>v</sup>.

f. 219 Habetur exemplar in coenobio Cartusianorum Florentie græce et latine.

Μανουήλ ἐν Χ(ριστῷ) τῷ Θ(εῷ) πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων ὁ Παλαιολόγος καὶ ἀεὶ αὐγουστος πᾶσι καὶ ἐκάστῳ τοῖς τὰς παρούσας ἡμετέρας βασιλικὰς γραφὰς ὁφόμενοις σωτηρίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος πᾶσι σωτηρία.

Ὁ ἐλεήμων ἀληθινὸς Σ(ωτ)ήρ καὶ Λυτρωτὴς ἡμῶν Κ(ύριος) Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστὸς) 5 προσενεγκὼν ἑαυτὸν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ θυσίαν ἁμῶν διὰ σ(αυ)ροῦ εἰς μνήμην τῶν αὐτοῦ θαυμάτων ἐγκατέλιπε σύμβολα τῶν αὐτοῦ παθημάτων τοῖς πιστοῖς. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἔχοντες τινὰ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἡμετέρου Σωτῆρος ἁγιάσματα εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν τὴν Κωνσταντίνου καταγόμενα ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων τῶν λαμπρωτάτων βασιλέων διὰ παραδόσεων ἀναντιρρήτων καὶ ἱστοριῶν δεδοκιμασμένων, ἃ πάντα 10 δι' ἐκείνων καὶ ἡμῶν ἐπιμελῶς καὶ σεβασμῶς διεφυλάχθησαν· νεωστὶ δὲ διὰ τὸν ὀθισμόν καὶ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν τῶν μισητῶν Τούρκων καὶ ἐχθρῶν τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Χ(ριστοῦ), ὅπερ ὄνομα ἀγιώτατον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἰδίως τῶν τῆς Ῥωμανίας μέρων πάσῃ δυνάμει ἀφανίσαι βιάζονται, εἰς ταῦτα τὰ δυσικά μέρη καὶ εἰς ἄλλας πατρίδας χριστιανῶν ῥηγῶν καὶ ἀρχόντων συνώθισεν ἡμᾶς ἔλθεῖν ἢ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐπίθεσις 15 ἐπ' αἰτία τῆς τῶν χριστιανῶν βοήθειας τῶν συντεθλασμένων ὑπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀπίστων· φέροντες μεθ' ἡμῶν καὶ τινὰ τῶν εἰρημένων ἁγιασμάτων καὶ κατανοοῦντες ὁρθῶς τὸν ζῆλον τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς χριστιανικῆς ἱεράς εὐλαβείας καὶ ζέσιν τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἐν Χ(ριστῷ) κυροῦ Μπονιφάτζιο, θείῳ ἐλέει ἄκρου ἀρχιερέως, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιθυμοῦντες τὴν ἐκείνου εὐλάβειαν πάντοτε ἀνέξεσθαι πρὸς τὸν Κ(ύριον), 20 ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων ἁγιασμάτων τοῦ Θ(εοῦ) ἡμῶν τι αὐτῷ χαρίσασθαι ἐσκεψάμεθα. Καὶ δὴ τῷ αὐτῷ ἄκρῳ ἀρχιερεῖ ἔχαρισάμεθα μερίδα τοῦ ρούχου τοῦ Λυτρωτοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ), ὥσπερ χρῶμα ἡεραναῖον<sup>16</sup>, ἦγουν ἀπὸ τοῦ ρούχου οὗπερ ἤψατο ἀπὸ τοῦ κρασπέδου ἢ γυνὴ ἢ αἰμοροοῦσα καὶ λάθη. Καὶ εἰς τὴν περὶ τοῦτου τοῦ προρρηθέντος μαρτυρίαν καὶ ἀφι<έ>ρωσιν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ταύτας τὰς ἀνεωγμένας 219<sup>v</sup> γραφὰς τῷ || αὐτῷ ἀγιωτάτῳ ἐν Χ(ριστῷ) π(ατ)ρί καὶ ἄκρῳ ἀρχιερεῖ γενέσθαι ἐποιήσαμεν ἡμετέρῃ χρυσῇ βούλλῃ κρεμμασθεῖσιν ἐλληνικοῖς γράμμασιν ἐπαναγεγραμμένα καὶ ὑπογραφῇ ἰδίᾳ τῆς ἐμῆς χειρὸς ἐρυθροῖς ἐλληνικοῖς γράμμασιν ὡς τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας ἔθος ἐστὶ ἀπηρτισμένως ἀσφαλισθείσας.

Ἐδόθη ἐν τῷ Παρίσι ἐν ἔτει ἀπὸ Χ(ριστοῦ) γεννήσεως χιλιοστῷ τετρακοσιοστῷ 30 πρῶτῳ, Ἰουλίῳ πέμπτῃ.

+ Μανουήλ ἐν Χ(ριστῷ) τῷ Θ(εῷ) πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων <ὁ> Παλαιολόγος. +

16. In the margin has been added: „colore blavi, sic in latino.”

The above document is of some interest in connection with the relations of Manuel II with the rival popes during the Western Schism. It seems very probable that on his way to France he had spoken with Pope Boniface IX, seemingly in May 1400 in Northern Italy, and a papal bull of 27 May had been prepared on his behalf but apparently never sent out.<sup>17</sup> While in Paris Manuel also entered into negotiations with Benedict XIII in Avignon, to whom in June or July of 1400 he sent his envoy, Alexius Branas, with another particle of the garment of Christ.<sup>18</sup> Knowledge of those negotiations may have led the Roman pope to lose any further interest in Manuel's mission, for no trace of subsequent communication between the two had been discovered.<sup>19</sup> Yet, the imperial letter published above shows that on 5 July 1401, while he was still in contact with the Avignonesse pope, Manuel had not given up the hope of maintaining friendly relations with the Roman one. Possibly the presentation of the relic formed part of the mission of Demetrius Palaeologus to Florence in July or August 1401<sup>20</sup>.

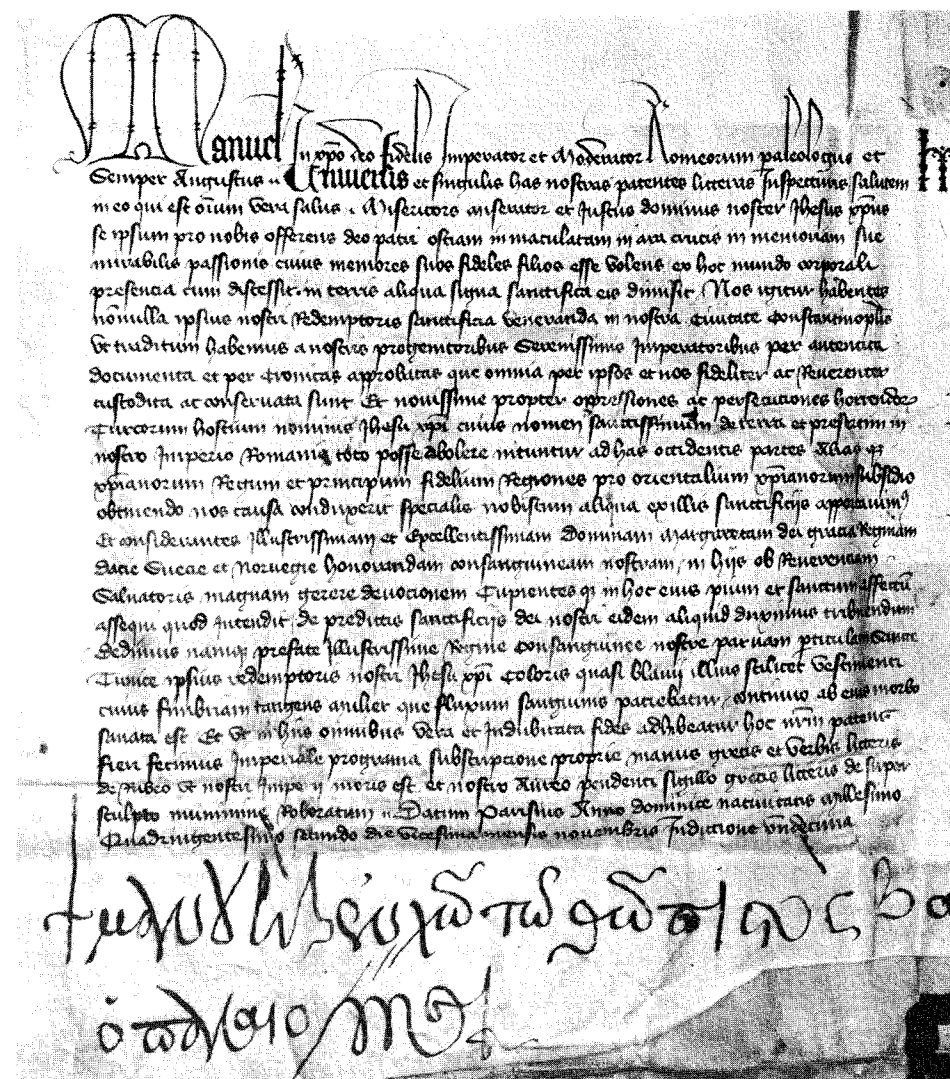
Loyola University of Los Angeles

17. See O. HALECKI, *Rome et Byzance au temps du grand Schisme d'Occident, Collectanea Theologica* (Lwów), 18, 1937, p. 477-532, esp. p. 514-515.

18. DÖLGER, *Regesten*, no. 3285, with sources.

19. HALECKI, *op. cit.*, p. 516-518.

20. J. MÜLLER, *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città Toscane coll' Oriente e coi Turchi*, Florence, 1879, no. 100, p. 148.



Chrysobulle de Manuel II Paléologue (23 novembre 1402). Moitié gauche.





## OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS OF MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS

The inadequacy of the extant source materials for the late Palaeologan period renders it virtually impossible to compile a complete list of official Byzantine imperial documents. The *Regesten* of Franz Dölger, completed by Peter Wirth, represent an admirable and painstaking effort to do so<sup>(1)</sup>. Actual documents, however, and references to others still lie hidden in archives, libraries and even in some published sources. This article (which obviously cannot claim to be definitive) presents twenty-six such documents dating from the reign of Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425), not listed in the *Regesten* and which are found in a variety of sources. First is given the date, in some cases only approximate, followed by the nature of the document as indicated in the sources, a summary of its contents, the source from which it is derived and, in the case of unpublished material, an edition of the text<sup>(2)</sup>.

(1) F. DÖLGER and P. WIRTH, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*. 5. Teil. *Regesten von 1341-1453*, (Munich, 1965), hereafter referred to as DÖLGER, *Regesten*.

(2) Several of the documents derive from two unpublished sources : 1) The Synodal Tome of August 1409 which excommunicated Matthew of Medeia and Macarius of Ankara, found in the *cod. Vat. gr.* 1858, fol. 28-42<sup>v</sup>, hereafter cited as *Tome of 1409* and the folio number (a full edition of this document is in preparation) ; 2) the Apology of Macarius of Ankara written in 1405-1406, found in the *cod. Paris. gr.* 1379 and 1378, hereafter cited from the *cod.* 1379 as *Apology of Macarius* and the folio number. These texts, as well as the entire controversy involving Macarius and Matthew, form the object of a detailed study by V. LAURENT in *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 1972.



## 1

1393. *Agreement* (εἰρήνην ... καὶ σπονδάς).

Manuel II agrees to adopt his nephew, John VII, who in turn will adopt Manuel's own son, John VIII, and the succession to the throne will be in that order. [The agreement was soon forgotten].

Source: Manuel Palaeologus, *Moral Dialogue on Marriage*, cod. Paris. gr. 3041, fol. 102v; see R. J. LOENERTZ, *Une erreur singulière de Laonic Chalcocondyle*, in *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 15 (1957), 183-84.

## 2

1395, December. *Embassy* (ambaxiatorem).

An ambassador of Manuel II is given passage on a Venetian ship.

Source: Deliberation of the Venetian Senate of 9 December 1395: N. IORGA, *Veneția in Marea Neagră*, in *Analele Academiei Române, Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, ser. II, tom. 36 (1913-1914), 1043-1118, n° 48, p. 1114 (not found in F. THIRIET, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie*, I (Paris-La Haye, 1958).

Since Iorga only gives one line of the text, it is quite difficult at this moment to speculate further on the specific destination and objectives of this embassy.

## 3

1396, February 15. *Embassy* (ambassador).

A Byzantine ambassador asks the Venetian senate for financial assistance in return for which the emperor offers the robe of Christ and other relics as surety.

Source: In the *commissio* to Niccolò Vallaresso and Michele Contarini, ambassadors to Bajezid, of 17 February 1396: ... *quia pridie quando ambasciator ipsius domini imperatoris fuit ad presenciam nostram ipse requisivit a nobis subventionem pecunie dicendo de volendo nobis in pignore dare vestem Yhesu Christi et alias certas*

*reliquias suas*. Venice, *Archivio di Stato, Senato, Misti*, 43, fol. 108. This is undoubtedly a continuation of the embassy which was discussed in the senate on 9 December 1395: see DÖLGER, *Regesten*, n° 3256.

## 4

1397, winter-spring. *Embassy*.

Manuel II offers to cede Constantinople to Venice if he should be forced to leave, as well as the island of Imbros. He also seems to have requested Venetian aid.

Source: Deliberation of the Venetian senate of 7 April 1397: THIRIET, *Régestes*, n° 932, p. 218; see J. BARKER, *Manuel II Palaeologus. A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1969), 146-47.

## 5

1397, October-November. *Prostagma* (προστάγματι).

The patriarchal throne being vacant, the bishops are ordered to celebrate the liturgy on the first anniversary of the death of the emperor's mother.

Source: *Apology of Macarius*, fol. 38. ... ὁ [Ματθαῖος] τῷ ἁγίῳ βασιλεῖ ποθοῦντι ἐν τῷ α' μνημοσύνῳ τῆς ἁγίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡμῶν κυρίας καὶ δεσποίνης προστάγματι αὐτοῦ βασιλικῷ, ἐκδημήσαντος πρὸς Θεὸν τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Καλλίστου τοῦ πατριάρχου, λειτουργῆσαι τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκείνης ἀντιλέξας συνοδικῶς μὴ ἐξεῖναι τοῦτό τε καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐκκλησιαστικὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι.

## 6

1397, November. *Command* (κελεύσει).

Manuel II convokes the synod to elect a patriarch.

Source: *Tome of 1409*, fol. 28v ... ὅτε ἡ σύνοδος κελεύσει βασιλικῇ συνθηροίσθῃ περὶ πατριάρχου ψηφισομένη.

## 7

1397 (?). *Letter*.

Manuel II requests the Doge of Venice to furnish supplies

for the ship carrying his ambassadors and promises reimbursement and gratitude.

Source : *I libri commemoriali della Repubblica di Venezia, Regesti*, III, ed. R. Predelli (Venice, 1883), IX, 72, p. 248. On 5 November 1397 Phocas Sevastopoulos, captain of an imperial galley, declared that he had received the requested amount from the Venetian officials and promised that the emperor would pay in full. The ambassadors, their destination, and the exact date are not known, but it probably has to do with one of Manuel's embassies to Venice or the other Western powers late in 1396 or 1397.

## 8

*1397-1398, winter-spring. Embassy (ambassador).*

Manuel II sends an ambassador to Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy.

Source : Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Collection de Bourgogne*, 20, fol. 358v. « En ce temps arriva un ambassadeur de Constantinople envoyé au Duc, qui lui temoigna la joie que cette ville avoit reçu de la liberté du Comte, son fils, auquel ambassadeur le Duc fit present d'un hanap d'or ciselé ».

The precise nature of the embassy is unknown, but it may well have been connected with that of Theodore Palaeologus Cantacuzenus to the French court in 1397-1398 (DÖLGER, *Regesten*, 3269), or with that of Nicholas Notaras in spring 1398 (*ibid.*, 3271). At any rate, the ambassador arrived at the Burgundian court about the end of 1397 or early in 1398 after the Duke's son, John, Count of Nevers, had returned from Turkish captivity.

## 9

*1399, December 4 (or shortly before). Agreement (προσγεγονότων δόκων μετά συμφωνιών).*

Before leaving for Western Europe, Manuel II leaves Constantinople in the charge of John VII.

Source : Several chronological notices, some of which are given by S. LAMPROS, *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, III (Athens,

1926), 360-61 ; see A. A. VASILIEV, *Putešestvie vizantijskago imperatora Manuila Palaeologa po zapadnoi Evrope (1399-1403)*, in *Žurnal ministerstva narodnago prosvěščenii*, N.S. 39 (1912), 54-55 ; J. BARKER, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, 490-93. In a letter to the metropolitan of Kiev the patriarch also refers to this agreement : *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, ed. F. Miklosich and J. Müller (Vienna, 1860-90), II, n° 556, pp. 359-60.

## 10

*1400, February. Request (postulat).*

Manuel II, on departing from Venice, requests that the Signoria provide refuge for his brother, the Despot Theodore, and for his own wife and family, in case they should be compelled to leave the Morea.

Source : Deliberation of the Venetian senate of 27 February 1400 ; see THIRIET, *Régestes*, 978, II, p. 10.

## 11

*1401, July 5. Imperial Letter (βασιλικαὶ γραφαί).*

Manuel II has journeyed to Western Europe to seek aid against the Turks. He grants to Pope Boniface IX a particle of the robe of Christ and confirms its authenticity.

Source : Copy of the Greek text in the Gennadius Library in Athens (*cod.* 39, fol. 219-219v), published and discussed by G. DENNIS, *Two Unknown Documents of Manuel II Palaeologus in Travaux et Mémoires*, 3 (1968), 397-404.

## 12

*1402, November 20-23. Imperial Letter (litterae patentes, ἀνεωγγμέναι γραφαί).*

Manuel II has journeyed to Western Europe to seek aid against the Turks. He grants to Queen Margaret of Denmark a particle of the robe of Christ and confirms its authenticity.

Source : Original document with text in Latin and Greek in the Monastery of El Escorial (*cod. Scorial. gr. ω-IV-19*), published and discussed by DENNIS, *op. cit.*

## 13

1403, June 9-14. *Horismos* (δρυσμῶ).

The emperor convokes a synod to discuss the deposition of Patriarch Matthew.

Source: *Apology of Macarius*, fol. 10<sup>v</sup>-11. ... τῆς γ' [συνόδου] τῶν ιη' ἐπισκόπων ἥτις συνηθροίσθη δρυσμῶ τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως ἐπανελθόντος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας. *Ibid.*, fol. 34. ... καὶ γ' σύνοδος ἐπισκόπων μετὰ δύο γνωμῶν ιη', συναθροισθεῖσα δρυσμῶ τοῦ ἁγίου βασιλέως. Cf. G. DENNIS, *The Deposition and Restoration of Patriarch Matthew I, 1402-1403*, in *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 2 (1967), 100-106.

## 14

1403, June. *Treaty* (ὁρκωμοτικόν, *pacta pacis*).

Peace treaty between Manuel II and the Turkish prince Suleyman Çelebi, made in Gallipoli or in Constantinople.

Source: See the documentation and detailed discussion in G. DENNIS, *The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 33 (1967), 72-88. This treaty was either a ratification of the peace treaty made in January or February 1403 between Suleyman and John VII together with Venice, Genoa, the Hospitallers and the Duke of Naxos, or the conclusion of another treaty which must have been almost identical with it. It is possible that another treaty may have been signed with Suleyman's brother in Anatolia about the same time, but this is not clear.

## 15

1403, summer (June-July). *Command* (κελεύσει).

Manuel II convokes and presides over a synod of thirty-three bishops called to reinstate the Patriarch Matthew.

Source: *Tome of 1409*, fol. 29<sup>v</sup>. Ἐπανελθόντος τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ ἀποκαταστήσαντος τοῦτον εἰς τὸ πατριαρχεῖον ὅθεν ἐξεβλήθη κακῶς τε καὶ παρανόμως, εἶτα πρὸς κρίσιν συνοδικήν τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν παραπέμψαντος · ἃ δὴ πάντα καὶ συνόδου συναθροισθείσης μεγάλης κελεύσει θείᾳ βασιλικῇ ὁρχιερέων τριάκοντα πρὸς τοῖς τρισὶ ἐξητάσθησάν τε καὶ

διευλυνθήσαν κανονικῶς καὶ νομικῶς, αὐτοῦ προκαθημένου τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν βασιλέως. Cf. DENNIS, *The Deposition and Restoration of Patriarch Matthew*, *cit. supra*.

## 16

1403, summer. *Chrysobull* (χρυσόβουλλος).

Manuel II confirms the synodal tome decreeing the reinstatement of Matthew as patriarch.

Source: *Tome of 1409*, fol. 30. ... ἐφ' ὃν [τόμον] καὶ θεῖος καὶ προσκνητὸς ἀπελύθη χρυσόβουλλος τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως πρὸς τὸ μένειν τὰ ἐν τῷ τόμῳ ἀπαρασάλευτα. Other references to this chrysobull are on fol. 30<sup>v</sup>, 33, *et alibi*. It is also mentioned in the *Apology of Macarius*, fol. 33. ... ἔτι ἰστέον ὅτι ὁ μὲν Σεργῶν ἡξίωσε τὸν ἅγιον βασιλέα ἀπολύσαι χρυσόβουλλον εἰς ἐπικύρωσιν τοῦ δῆθεν ἀθροωτικοῦ. (Also cf. fol. 53<sup>v</sup>, 60).

## 17

1403, Fall (probably October). *Agreement* (son acordados, ὁρκωμότικον).

Manuel II and John VII agree that John VII should rule as emperor in Thessalonica; on Manuel's death John VII should then assume full imperial power in Constantinople, to be succeeded by Manuel's son, John VIII, who in turn would be followed by the son of John VII.

Source: Manuel's prostagma to Bouliotes of 1404, ed. in Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς, 2 (1918), 449-52; see DÖLGER, *Regesten*, 3301; DUCAS, *Istoria Turco-Bizantină*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), 18, 2, pp. 111-113; Ruy GONZÁLEZ DE CLAVIJO, *Embajada a Tamorlán*, ed. F. López-Estrada (Madrid, 1943), 56; see J. BARKER, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, 241-45. It is possible that two separate agreements may have been made, the one regarding the rule of John VII in Thessalonica and the other regarding the succession.

1403-1404. *Horismos* (δρισμῶ).

Manuel II sends Metropolitan Macarius of Ankara to the Morea on some business (unspecified).

Source: *Apology of Macarius*, fol. 50. ... καὶ γὰρ δις ἢ τρίς συλλειτουργήσας αὐτῷ ἡμῖν ἡσυχάζων. δρισμῶ δὲ τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν ἀθρόου καὶ βασιλέως πορευθεὶς εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον ... fol. 50<sup>v</sup> (after his return to Constantinople). ... ἄφνω δρῶ τὸν τιμιώτατον μέγαν σκευοφύλακα παρακαθίσαντά μοι καὶ εἰπόντα παρρησίᾳ· ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν ὁ ἅγιος πατριάρχης μὲν τῇ ἁγιωσύνῃ σου ὅτι σε μὲν ἀπέστειλεν ὁ ἅγιος βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸν Μορραῖαν ἵνα ποιῇς τὰς δουλείας αὐτοῦ.

1404-1405. *Horismos* (ὁρίζει).

Decree of Manuel II to Metropolitan Macarius of Ankara. If you claim to be doing this [concelebrating with the Patriarch] because I had ordered it, this is not true, for I did not force you in any way, but by way of advice I told you once not to cause trouble and not to oppose the consecration of the patriarch [i.e. claim that he was unlawfully elected]. This will lead to confusion and schism in the church and we will suffer the same thing as has happened in the church of the Latins [the Western Schism, 1378-1417]. But, Bishop of Ankara, you now compel me, unwilling though I am, to decree what the Bishop of Medeia [Matthew] requested yesterday. Therefore, I solemnly affirm that I have not forced you against your will to communicate with the patriarch, nor has he said anything to me. But the patriarch is always in communion with the Bishop of Medeia, although unwilling to communicate with you. He himself asked me to inform him how he could make peace with you and to concelebrate once with the Bishop of Medeia and once with you, which I have done, and which you too have been demanding, as most people know.

Source: *Apology of Macarius*, fol. 40<sup>v</sup>-41. Καὶ ὁ ἅγιος βασιλεὺς νῦν μὲν ὁρίζει, ὡς γράφει καὶ τὸ δῆθεν ἀθροτικόν. Εἰ δὲ λέγεις

ὅτι ἐμῷ προστάγματι τοῦτο ποιεῖς, πρῶτον μὲν τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν· οὐ γὰρ ἀνάγκη τινὶ οὐδὲ βία σε πρὸς τοῦτο κατήπειγον, ἀλλὰ συμβουλευτικῶς ἅπαξ σοι εἶπον μὴ πρὸς ὀχλήσεις χωρῆσαι καὶ ταραχάς, μήποτε ἀπὸ τούτου τὸ ἀντίθετον μέρος πρὸς χειροτονίαν χωρήσῃ πατριάρχον, καὶ σύγχυσις καὶ σχίσμα γένηται τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Χριστοῦ καὶ ταῦτόν τι πάθομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁ καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν Λατίνων ἐκκλησίᾳ συνέβη. νῦν δὲ ὁρίζει ἀναγκάζει με, Ἀγκύρας, ὅπερ χθὲς γενέσθαι ὁ Μηδείας ἀπήτησεν ἐξ ἐμοῦ, τοῦτο νῦν καὶ μὴ βουλόμενόν με ποιῆσαι. διὸ καὶ λέγω σοι, ὡς ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν μου, οὔτε ἐγὼ σε ἡνάγκασα μὴ θέλοντα κοινωνῆσαι τῷ πατριάρχῃ οὔτε παρ' αὐτοῦ εἶχον εἰς τοῦτο λόγον τινά. ἀλλὰ τοῦ πατριάρχον κοινωνούντος ἀεὶ τῷ Μηδείας σοὶ δὲ μὴ θέλοντος κοινωνεῖν, αὐτὸς προσελθὼν ἤξιόν με τούτῳ μνηύσαι ὅπως εἰρηνεύσῃ μετὰ σου, καὶ συλλειτουργῇ μίαν τῷ Μηδείας καὶ μίαν σοι, ὁ δὴ καὶ πεποίηκα. σὺ οὖν ἐξήτεις τοῦτο, μάλλον καὶ τοῦτο οἶδασι καὶ πολλοί. Cf. G. DENNIS, *Four Unknown Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus*, in *Byzantion*, 36 (1966), 35-40; V. LAURENT, *Un paradoxe théologique: La forme de la consécration épiscopale selon le métropolitain d'Ancyre Macaire*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 13 (1947), 551-61; H. HUNGER, *Das Testament des Patriarchen Matthaios I. (1397-1410)*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 51 (1958), 288-309.

1404-1405. *Horismos* (δρισμῶν).

Manuel II issues the following decree to Metropolitan Macarius of Ankara. Your booklet has clarified what I have long suspected; you simply want full leave to quarrel, insult and anathematize, which cannot be permitted. You insist on making your charges in a synod, in which your victory will be the deposition of your accusers. The same must be done for you, and if you are defeated you will have to do penance for your wickedness according to the canons. Since you persist in causing trouble, what I am ordering is simple: go to the synod and prove what you wish and let it be judged according to the canons. I am sending a copy of this to the patriarch, and Philites will convey to you orally other things I wish to say. Now, do not trouble me any longer, since I will not reply to you, for I cannot suffer

any more annoyance of this sort, and I also have many other things to do.

Source : *Apology of Macarius*, fol. 52-52v. ... ἐκ τῶν θείων βασιλικῶν ὁρισμῶν τῶν πρὸς με ἀπολυθέντων ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀνέφερον. Ἱερῶτατε μητροπολίτα Ἀγκύρας καὶ ὑπέρτιμε καὶ ἑξαρχε πάσης Γαλατίας κῆρ Μακάριε · καὶ μετὰ τινα · ὁ γοῦν ὑπενόουν περὶ σου πρότερον τοῦτο εἶδον γραφόμενον ἐν τῇ εἰρημένῃ σου ἀναφορᾷ. λέγεις γὰρ τρόπον τινὰ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ ὅτι ἑασόν με φιλονεικεῖν καὶ ὑβρίζειν καὶ ἀναθεματίζειν, κἂν μὲν περιγένομαι πεποίηκα ὅπερ ἐπιθυμῶ, εἰ δὲ μὴ ποιήσω μετάνοιαν καὶ λύσω δι' αὐτῆς τὸ γενόμενον. τοῦτο οὖν οὐκ ἐστὶν εὐλογον οὐδὲ ἴσον ἀλλὰ ποῖον, ἐπειδὴ ζητεῖς προτείνειν καὶ εἰπεῖν ἐν συνόδῳ ἅτινα ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἡ νίκη σου καθαίρεισιν ἔξει τῶν ἐγκαλουμένων σοι, ἀνάγκη ἐστὶν ἐπενεχθῆναι καὶ εἶς σε τὸ ἴσον, ἂν φάνης νικημένος οὐ μὴν δὲ τότε νὰ λύῃς τὸ κακὸν διὰ μετανόας, ἂν δὲ βοηθῶσί σοι τοῦτο οἱ κανόνες ἔχονται. πλὴν σὺ εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἔννοιαν ἐδραζόμενος ποιεῖς ὁ ποιεῖς καὶ παρενοχλεῖς. ἐστὶ γοῦν ἀπλοῦν ὁ διορίζομαι · ἀπιθὶ εἰς τὴν σύνοδον κἀκεῖ δείξεις ἂ θέλεις, καὶ ἡ νικήσεις κανονικῶς ἢ νικηθῆσης κανονικῶς. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν παναγιώτατόν μου δεσπότην τὸν οἰκουμενικὸν πατριάρχην ἔγραφα ὅσον μέλλεις ἰδεῖν ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ τῆς γραφῆς ἐκείνης ὅπερ σοι πέμπομεν, ἐν ᾧ ὅφει ὅσον καὶ αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦμεν καὶ τὴν σύνοδον ἵνα καὶ οὕτως ἀποβλέψωσιν ὑπὲρ σου. φέρει σοι καὶ ὁ Φιλιάτης τοὺς πλείονάς μου λόγους ἀγράφως. καὶ νὰ σωθῇς τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδὲν μοι παρενοχλήσης, ἐπεὶ οὔτε ἐγγράφως οὔτε ἀγράφως ἀπολογήσομαι σοι πρὸς ὅπερ ἂν ἡμῖν ἀναφέρῃς εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς. οὐδὲ γὰρ δύναμαι τοσαύτας ὑπομένειν ὁχλήσεις, καὶ ἄλλας πολλὰς δουλείας ἔχω ποιεῖν. Cf. DENNIS, *Four Unknown Letters*.

1405. *Horismos* (in margin : ἕτερος ὁρισμός).

Manuel II writes to Patriarch Matthew. My most holy Lord, the metropolitan of Ankara has said that I have been sending you his pamphlets, which you know is not true. I have retained them in the hopes that he would reform. But, since he had told me previously, and has repeated in writing, that I should send them to you, I am now doing so, together with his book, which he entrusted to me until

he should come to his senses, as I counselled him. But he has not done so. Since he has asked that we ourselves get out of this, and that the matter be carried to an examination, I permit this to take place. I now request you and the holy synod to see to his reformation and not to appear to act out of anger.

Source : *Apology of Macarius*, fol. 52v. Παναγιώτατέ μου δέσποτα. Ὁ ἱερῶτατος μητροπολίτης Ἀγκύρας καὶ ὑπέρτιμος ἀνέφερεν ὅτι πέμπω σοι τὰς ἀναφοράς του. ἡ ἀγίωσύνη σου δὲ γινώσκει ὅτι οὐδεμίαν σοι τούτων ἔστειλα. ἐγὼ δὲ κατεῖχον αὐτάς προσδοκῶν αὐτὸν εἰς διόρθωσιν ἔλθειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πρότερον εἶπέ μοι διὰ στόματος ἵνα σοι στείλω ὅπερ μοι γράφει, καὶ νῦν ἀναφέρει ἐγγράφως ὅτι σοι πέμπω τὰς προτέρας του ἀναφοράς, λέγει καὶ ταύτην ἀποσταλῆναι σοι, ἰδοὺ σοι πέμπω καὶ τὰς πρῶτας καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ βιβλίον αὐτοῦ, ὅπερ μοι ὑπέθηκεν ὡς παρακαταθήκην μέχρις ἂν ὑγιάνας ποιήσῃ ὡς συνεβουλευόμην αὐτῷ. νῦν δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐποίησε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐζήτησε καὶ τοῦτο παρ' ἡμῶν διὰ στόματος αὐτοῦ, τὸ νὰ ἐκβάλωμεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ μέσου καὶ ἐπακολουθήσῃ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὥσπερ ἂν ἡ ἐξέτασις, δῶ τοῦτο γενέσθαι. τοῦτο μὲν ποιῶ καὶ ἐξίσταμαι, ἀξιῶ δὲ τὴν ἀγίωσύνην σου καὶ τὴν θείαν καὶ ἱερὰν σύνοδον ἵνα καὶ οὕτως ἰδῇτε πρὸς ὅπερ ἀφορᾷ εἰς περιθάλψιν καὶ διόρθωσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ μὴ δόξη τι κατ' ὁργὴν ἐπακολουθήσαι αὐτῷ. ἂν δὲ καὶ οὕτως ἐπιμένῃ τοῖς προτέροις γενέσθω ὅσον ἐστὶ καὶ Θεῷ φίλον καὶ δίκαιον · τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ αὐτῷ ἀρέσει καὶ ἀποδέχομαι καὶ ἐγὼ νὰ σωθῶ καὶ εἰς τὴν εὐχὴν τῶν ἀγίων μου ἀθέντων καὶ βασιλέων τῶν γονέων μου. The meeting of the synod was held in September 1405, and Macarius as well as Matthew of Medeia were deposed. Cf. DENNIS, *Four Unknown Letters*.

1405, September. Command (κελεύσει).

Manuel II convokes a synod to discuss the deposition of Bishops Macarius of Ankara and Matthew of Medeia.

Source : *Tome of 1409*, fol. 30. Καὶ σύνοδον ἐξεκαλοῦντο [οἱ δύο μητροπολίται] πρὸς τοῦτο εἰς παράστασιν ὧν διατείνονται, ἥς καὶ συναθροισθείσης θεία κελεύσει βασιλικῇ, εἰ καὶ δίκαιον ἦν αὐτίκα τούτους καθαιρεθῆναι.

1405. *Embassy.*

Manuel II requests Pope Innocent VII to provide aid and broaches the subject of ecclesiastical union.

Source: The reply of Innocent VII in O. RAYNALDUS, *Annales ecclesiastici*, 7 (Lucca, 1752), *ad an.* 1405, n° 1-4, pp. 126-28. Cf. O. HALECKI, *Rome et Byzance au temps du grand Schisme d'Occident*, in *Collectanea Theologica*, 18, (1937), 519-20.

1408-1409, *Fall-winter. Prostagma (προσταγμα).*

Manuel II confirms the grant made by John VII of the property of Mariskin to the monastery of Dionysiou on Mount Athos.

Source: The document, now lost, is mentioned in another act referring to the same property: *Actes de Dionysiou*, ed. Nicolas Oikonomidès (*Archives de l'Athos*, IV; Paris, 1968), n° 20, p. 120. The prostagma was issued shortly after the death of John VII (22 September 1408), during a visit of Manuel to Thessalonica.

1409, *Summer. Horismos (διορίσματο).*

Manuel II issues the following decree to the former bishops of Ankara and of Medeia, Macarius and Matthew. Although, because of your attacks on the patriarch and myself, I could have brought you to trial, I have tried to be patient in the hope you would reform, and for this reason I kept your abusive letter quiet. But now that you speak of heresy in the church and call the patriarch a heretic, a matter which affects every Christian, I am convoking a synod whether you wish it or not. You will have an opportunity to substantiate your insults and, if you cannot do so, you will be subject to the penalties laid down by law. You may not discuss the business of the trisepiscopate or other matters settled by the synodal tome [of 1403] which was confirmed by my chrysobull [Doc. 16]. Since you have been deposed, one judge is really sufficient, as for private persons, but the

charge of heresy requires that a larger number of bishops should be present, which is difficult in the heat of summer.

Source: *Tome of 1409*, fol. 32-32<sup>v</sup>. "Οθεν καὶ περὶ τοῦτο μὲν διορίσματο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ θεϊότατος ἀθθέντης καὶ βασιλεύς. Ὡς ἐγὼ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν πολλὰ περὶ ὑμῶν ἔχων λέγειν δι' ἃς ἐξεχέατε ὕβρεις κατὰ τε τοῦ πατριάρχου καὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ εἰς κριτήριον ὑμᾶς ἀγαγεῖν ἀπολογηθησομένους περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅμως ταῦτα παρέβλεπον καὶ ὁρῶν ἐδόκουν μὴ ὁρᾶν καὶ ἀκούων ἐποίουν ἐμαυτὸν μὴ ἀκούειν, κερδῆσαι πάντως ὑμᾶς βουλόμενος καὶ διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἡμερότητος πρὸς εἰρήνην ἀμφοτέρους ἀνακαλέσασθαι καὶ καλῶ τὸ κακὸν ἐξιάσασθαι. ἄχρι μὲν οὖν περὶ ὕβρεως ἡ νὸ λόγος τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν ἦν ὁ σκοπός, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ λοιδορον γράμμα παρ' ἐμοὶ ἀνέκφορον ἐτηρεῖτο τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἀναμένοντι. ἐπεὶ δὲ νῦν καὶ αἵρεσιν παρεισφθαρήναι λέγετε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὸν πατριάρχην αἰρετικόν, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ πάντα χριστιανὸν τῇ τούτου αἵρέσει ἐνόχους τίθεσθε ὡς αὐτῷ τοὺς μὲν συλλειτουργοῦντας, τοὺς δὲ τὸν ἀγιασμόν παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἔχοντας, συναθροισθῆσεται σύνοδος πάντως καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ὑμῶν. τίνες γὰρ ὑμεῖς ὥστε δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς ὑμετέρους κατ' ἐναντὶν σχεδὸν σύνοδον συναθροίξειν καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πολλάκις πολυπραγμονεῖν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τούτου συναθροισθῆσεται ὥστε λόγον ὑμᾶς δοῦναι περὶ ὧν ὕβρισατε καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ἡ αἵρεσις ἢ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεισφθαρεῖσα, καὶ οὐ δύνηθητε παραστήσαι τὰς ὕβρεις ὅσας προβάλλεσθε κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου, πείσεσθε πάντως ὡς ὕβριστα ὅσα περὶ τούτων οἱ φιλευσεβεῖς παρακελεύοντο νόμοι. περὶ τρισεπισκόπου δὲ ἡ τῆς ἁλλοῦ τῶν ἐν τῷ τόμῳ καταγεγραμμένων οὐδαμῶς τι κινήσεται. ἅπαξ γὰρ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα καλῶς ἐπράχθησαν Χριστοῦ χάριτι καὶ κανονικῶς καὶ νομικῶς καὶ ὅφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐξαιτησαμένων τοῦτο γενέσθαι καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ἐν τῷ τόμῳ καταγεγραμμένων ἐστὶν ἀπαρασάλευτον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ χρυσόβουλλος λόγος τούτῳ ἐπεβραβεύθη παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας μου. καὶ ἡ μέλλουσα δὲ συναθροισθῆναι σύνοδος τῶν ἀρχιερέων οὐ τοσοῦτον δι' ὑμᾶς συναχθήσεται ἢ διὰ τὴν αἵρεσιν ἣν προβάλλεσθε. ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἅπαξ ὑπὸ συνόδου καθαιρεθέντες ἐνὸς δέεσθε καὶ μόνον κρίτου ὥσπερ οἱ ἰδιῶται. ὁ δὲ λέγετε ὡς αἵρεσιν ἔχει ἡ ἐκκλησία Χριστοῦ δέετε παρουσιάσαι πρὸς ζήτησιν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπαρχίαν σχεδόν, εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ὅσους ἐγγωρεῖ. ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς θέρους

ὧν οὐ συγχωρεῖ πολλοὺς συνελθεῖν. See DENNIS, *Four Unknown Letters*.

1409, July-August. *Prostagma* (προστάγματι).

Manuel II convokes a synod to deal with the former bishops of Ankara and of Medeia, Macarius and Matthew.

Source: *Tome of 1409*, fol. 32<sup>v</sup>. Θείῳ τοίνυν αὐτοῦ [τοῦ βασιλέως] προστάγματι συναθροισθέντων ἡμῶν ...

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## SOME NOTES ON THE CORRESPONDENCE OF MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS

Byzantine letters are primarily of a rhetorical nature, and as such they reflect the worst characteristics of Byzantine rhetoric<sup>1</sup>. Among the educated Byzantines there is a fundamental dishonesty; while living in one world, they speak in another. It is unimportant whether what they say is related to reality or not, but how they say it is what matters. One was a good speaker or writer according to how closely one imitated the classical Greek authors. Originality, and even clarity, were not highly regarded. Excerpts and selected works of certain authors, reproduced in countless anthologies and systematized in Hellenistic handbooks were proposed to the Byzantine student as models of "fine" writing<sup>2</sup>.

One displayed his rhetorical ability as readily in a finely polished letter as in a sonorous oration. In fact, the reading of letters was compared to a performance in the theater. Manuel II complimented his correspondents on the applause their letters received when read before himself and his friends (Letters 9, 24, 27, 32, 34, 44, 61). Ordinarily we expect a letter to convey news or a message of some sort, but the average Byzantine letter was about as concrete, informative and personal as the modern, mass-produced greeting card. Just as we have a selection of illustrated cards suitable for every occasion, so the Byzantine had his formularies of model letters. Most are stylized variations on the theme that distance cannot really separate those linked by genuine friendship. Today one might select a particularly artistic reproduction of a Madonna and Child to convey Christmas greetings to a friend. The Byzantine would delve

<sup>1</sup> Most of this paper derives from research made in connection with my forthcoming edition of the Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus, which was made possible by a grant from the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, to which I hereby express my gratitude. The numbering and translation of Manuel's Letters are those of my edition.

On Byzantine rhetoric the following may be most helpful: K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, 1897, Munich, repr. 2 v., 1958, New York, 450-98; G. Böhlig, *Untersuchungen zum rhetorischen Sprachgebrauch der Byzantiner*, 1956, Berlin; F. Dölger, "Der Klassizismus der Byzantiner, seine Ursachen und seine Folgen". *Paraspora. 30 Aufsätze zur Geschichte, Kultur und Sprache des byzantinischen Reiches*, 1961 Ettal; H. Hunger, *On the Imitation (ΜΙΜΗΣΙΣ) of Antiquity in Byzantine Literature*, "Dumbarton Oaks Papers", 23/24, 1969/70, pp. 17-38; R. Jenkins, *The Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Literature*, *Ibid.*, 17, 1963, pp. 39-52.

<sup>2</sup> Four of these formed the basis of all Byzantine writing: Apollonius Dyscolus and Herodian on grammar and syntax, Hermogenes of Tarsus on literary style and criticism and, perhaps most influential, the *Progymnasmata*, or *Rhetorical Exercises of Aphthonius of Antioch*. Cf. Jenkins, "Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Literature", pp. 44-45.

into his handbook of classical allusions and ornate metaphors to embellish an otherwise stereotyped text. In general, then, Byzantine letters tend to be conventional and impersonal and, one might add, terribly boring.

To utilize these letters as historical sources can be very frustrating, which is one reason they have not always been well utilized. For the best letters adhered to rules which abhorred proper names, precise dates and concrete details<sup>3</sup>. Even the name of the addressee might be deleted. Specifically Byzantine terms are rare, for the vocabulary had to be such that a contemporary of Thucydides could understand it. If the Albanians, Serbs or Turks were not written about in the fifth century B. C., then they must be called the Illyrians, Triballians or Persians. References to the Scythians, or to the barbarians, often reduce the historian to sheer guesswork<sup>4</sup>. Persons and places are frequently identified only as "that man you know" or "this once splendid city". If the letter were meant to convey a message, other than generalities about friendship, it was often formulated in such tortuous grammar and syntax as to be practically unintelligible. The real message, if any, was conveyed by the bearer of the letter, either for reasons of security or the demands of style<sup>5</sup>. The letter itself was a gift to be treasured, not necessarily understood, by the recipient.

Yet, if patiently studied, these letters can often be placed in their proper historical context and further historical information derived from them<sup>6</sup>. This is particularly true of the Palaeologan period. At least, many of those that have survived, while still enmeshed in archaic rhetorical forms, actually have something to communicate. The problem lies in deciphering the message. In some instances this may prove impossible, but in others a close scrutiny of allusions to persons, places or events, a careful analysis of terms and a comparison with established facts may be rewarding.

Detailed studies of certain letters of Demetrius Cydones, for example, have greatly added to our knowledge of the fourteenth century. His letters are particularly important, if not essential, for any understanding of the activities of Manuel Palaeologus, especially during the 1380's<sup>7</sup>. Other correspondents of the emperor also have more to say in their letters than one might at first suspect.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. G. Karlsson, *Idéologie et cérémonial dans l'épistolographie byzantine*, 1962, Uppsala; Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 45–46; N. Tomadakes, *Βυζαντινὴ ἐπιστολογραφία. Εἰσαγωγή, κείμενα, κατ'ἀλογος ἐπιστολογράφων*, 1955, Athens, but see the review by P. Joannou in "Byzantinische Zeitschrift", 50, 1957, pp. 437–38. Useful information and insights are also found in the introductions to editions of letters, such as those by Loenertz, Hunger, Darrouzès and Jenkins.

<sup>4</sup> See G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 1958, Berlin, II, pp. 13–17, "Klassizismus in der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung", *Polychronion. Festschrift F. Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag*, 1966, Heidelberg, pp. 366–77.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Karlsson, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–21.

<sup>6</sup> For example, see I. Ševčenko, *Nicolaus Cabasilas' Correspondence and the Treatment of Late Byzantine Literary Texts*. "Byzantinische Zeitschrift", 47, 1954, pp. 49–59; R. J. Loenertz, *Correspondance de Manuel Paléologue (= Studi e Testi 152; 1950, Vatican City; and his many investigations of the letters of Cydones, which formed the basis for our own study of the reign of Manuel II in Thessalonica.*

<sup>7</sup> See G. Dennis, *The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382–1387*, 1960, Rome, passim.

Letter 17 of Nicholas Cabasilas is addressed simply: To the Emperor, whom the editor identifies as probably John VI Cantacuzenus (1347–54)<sup>8</sup>. An attentive reading of this letter, however, makes it clear that it was written to John V Palaeologus in October or November of 1364. Cabasilas praises the emperor's concern for his subjects and his zeal for the common good, which have led him to hold "meetings of wise men, both those of old and contemporaries, those who speak from books and those who use their tongues, and whose concern for the soul and for expression is equal". The emperor is commended for devoting a great deal of time to these discussions. "By taking time from your labors on behalf of the common good, you have in another way benefitted that common good by appointing a very deserving leader for us" (καλλίω ποιῶν ἡμῖν τὸν προστάτην). The "leader" is clearly the same person who is referred to by the same word, (προστάτης, κοινὸς προστάτης), in Letters 11, 12, 13. He is Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos, appointed for the second time in October 1364, after much hesitation on the part of John V. Letter 17, then, belongs to the same sequence as 11, 12, 13. Cabasilas commends John V for convoking, and apparently attending, theological discussions in which patristic texts played a key role, and he thanks him for naming Philotheos as patriarch. John V, it seems, wanted to be assured of the Palamite leader's orthodoxy, and did not delay his appointment merely because of his past dislike for the man.

Letter 18, for which no addressee is given, is summarized as being simply an expression of respect and friendship for an acquaintance sojourning abroad. But again, an attentive reading clearly reveals that this letter was addressed to an emperor who is absent among the Turks, apparently on some military undertaking, and whose valor and labors, as in the past, it is hoped, will benefit the city and the common good. Cabasilas suspects that this emperor will not be free to return for some time and urges him to send a letter, or at least an oral message, by means of Boullotes, a military expert. The circumstances are certainly applicable to the situation of Manuel II on campaign in Anatolia with the Turkish Emir Bajezid in 1390–91, during which he wrote his own Letter 15 to Cabasilas. If the first name of Boullotes is Demetrius, a domestic of the emperor who was familiar with the Turks and whom Manuel sent on various missions in the early 1400's, then it would be fairly certain that this letter of Cabasilas was addressed to Manuel II in 1390–91<sup>9</sup>.

The letters of Manuel II himself are difficult, but they are, nonetheless, real letters, written to communicate real messages to real people. Some are trivial, others obscure, and a number were later revised. The

<sup>8</sup> P. Enepekides, *Der Briefwechsel des Mystikers Nikolaos Kabasilas*, "Byzantinische Zeitschrift", 46, 1953, 18–46, Letter 17, pp. 43–44; on this edition see the article of Ševčenko, cited above, n. 6.

<sup>9</sup> There are slight variations in the spelling of his name. He appears as a domestic in 1401 (F. Miklosich – J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, II, 1862, Vienna, no. 655, pp. 509; no 658, pp. 513), and again in September 1404 on an imperial mission to Mt. Athos (F. Dölger – P. Wirth, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*. V. Teil, 1965, Munich, no. 3301, pp. 90–91). About 1414 Mazaris speaks of having accompanied "the most wretched Boullotes" on imperial missions (Ἐπιδημία εἰς Ἀθῶν. ed. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota graeca*, III, 1831, Paris, pp. 112–186).



message is not always easy to extract from the heap of verbiage in which it is buried. Manuel shares all the faults of the Byzantine rhetorician. His writing abounds in worn out clichés and proverbs, anachronisms, excessive, and sometimes unclear, classical allusions and what could best be called a studied obscurity. His meaning is often uncertain owing to his repugnance for proper names and his insistence on an archaic vocabulary. The syntax is sometimes so intricately twisted as to be almost devoid of sense. Still, his letters are real letters and, written by the emperor himself, merit close study. To aid in this, the scholar has one advantage, a relatively rare one, namely, in several instances the corresponding letter of Cydones survives, which often clarifies the emperor's meaning.

Cydones had asked Manuel to obtain a certain manuscript of Plato from Mount Athos. In his reply (Letter 3) Manuel assured him that the book was as good as in his hands. After all, Plato was out of place among the monks and would find Cydones' company far more congenial. After a bit of this, he expresses his sadness at being separated from his friend. But this was necessary, for "the present situation is not working out well for us, the enterprises begun have not yet come to term and the outcome of our activities here is obscure". For this reason, he had not asked Cydones to accompany him, although he wants him to join him now. A passing reference to Cydones' fatherland locates Manuel in Thessalonica, where he had secretly sailed in the fall of 1382, not even informing Cydones<sup>10</sup>. In reply Cydones asked Manuel to be firm with the monks and obtain the book; he then alludes to the hostility of John V in Constantinople which prevents him from joining Manuel, "those adamantine shackles which you know". Manuel did obtain the book, only to have the ship on which he sent it captured by pirates, so that Cydones eventually received it all torn and waterlogged. To Cydones' account of this tragedy (Letter 259), Manuel replied (Letter 4) in the spring or summer of 1383, complimenting him on his description of Plato's tribulations, and then describing his own tribulations in Thessalonica, particularly the discontent of the citizens at the financial sacrifices required to defend the city against the Turks. Important information, then, about the beginnings of Manuel's rebellious reign in Thessalonica may be derived from this series of letters which are linked together by literary pleasantries about Plato and the monks.

A discussion of a passage from the poet Theognis links together another exchange, which furnishes valuable information about a previously unknown event of Manuel's rule in Thessalonica<sup>11</sup>. In Letter 8 the emperor compliments Cydones on his explanation of Theognis' view that one should take every possible means to avoid poverty. The present situation, Manuel writes, has forced him to try every extreme, and he hopes he will be successful in what he is now trying. "If I did not believe I should attain my goal, it is clear that I would not be spending so much on the embassy. The person to whom I have sent the embassy would then with reason be regarded as the undoubted vicar of the Savior when

he fails to fulfil nothing of what has been promised by the Lord". This seems to refer to the sending of an embassy to the pope in order to seek aid. This is clarified by Letter 302 of Cydones, dated about the end of winter 1385, in which he comments on the advice of Theognis. Manuel, he writes, in his efforts to preserve his subjects in freedom has taken every possible means, including embassies. But, he adds, "regarding the present embassy, I could have contributed a good deal if I had known something about it when you were getting it ready. For it would have been preceded by letters from me to my friends in Rome, which would have facilitated the work of the ambassadors". Still, he did write letters to the "coryphaeus" and the chorus about him, i.e. Pope Urban VI and the cardinals. In several other places also he speaks of this embassy furnishing further details, including the name of one of the envoys, Euthymius, probably the later patriarch.

The historical importance of the eight letters (14–21) which Manuel wrote while on campaign with the Turks in Anatolia in 1391 has been recognized, although they have not been fully utilized or always correctly interpreted. Several points may be clarified by related sources, such as Manuel's Dialogue with a Moslem Teacher and the long Letter 432 of Cydones, written in reply to Manuel's well known and equally long Letter 16. Along the same lines, the series of letters written by the emperor in Western Europe (Letters 37–41) also contain interesting information. With study and the aid of other documents, the four "hypothetical letters" (63–66) of Manuel turn out to be real letters conveying definite messages to two troublesome prelates<sup>12</sup>. Perhaps an examination of two less well known letters might be of some interest.

In Letter 27 Manuel complimented Theodore Kaukadenos on his brief composition (or letter) which had been read before the emperor and his friends. After some conventional praise, he continued: "But what particularly pleased me about your writing, and what I believe is your strongest point, is the value you set on moderation. Your desire to obtain what you were requesting in your composition was exceedingly great, as is only natural, yet at the same time you avoided all excess. You have indeed succeeded in convincing us, and your hopes have been fulfilled. Now, our hopes will be fulfilled if you set yourself to supervise the instruction of the two youths. I am certain you will regard this as equitable and at the same time beneficial to them as well as to my daughter. This should not be a difficult task, I believe, if you set your mind to it".

Beneath the rhetoric of this letter Manuel seems to be saying quite clearly that he was impressed by the manner in which Kaukadenos phrased his request. As a result, the emperor grants his request by appointing him to supervise the education of two young men (*νεοῖν*) and a girl, his daughter (*θυγατρί*), which he expects him to do well. In his request or letter Kaukadenos showed his own appreciation of moderation (*μέτρον*) and, as their tutor (*σωφρονιστής*), can now teach them to value mode-

<sup>10</sup> For details see Dennis, *Reign of Manuel in Thessalonica*, pp. 69–71.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 136–41.

<sup>12</sup> G. Dennis, *Four Unknown Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus*, "Byzantion", 36, 1966, pp. 35–40.

ration. In other words, he is appointing Kaukadenos as tutor for two of his sons and a daughter<sup>13</sup>.

Kaukadenos, incidentally, had been trying to obtain a position at court for years. In the early 1380's, upon the recommendation of Cydones (Letter 210), John V had named him to a position in the financial service with a modest stipend, which he confirmed by an official *prostagma*. But, certain bureaucrats tried to prevent him from actually obtaining it, so that Cydones again had to write to the emperor (Letter 215). But he did not retain the post for long, for about 1386 Cydones again had to intercede for him (Letter 357). In these letters Cydones also had praise for Kaukadenos' rhetorical ability, which later impressed Manuel so favorably.

About 1397 Manuel replied (Letter 33) to a letter of Demetrius Chrysoloras. The situation in the capital was critical: the Turks had intensified their siege and were aided by Manuel's nephew, John VII, who had some support within the city, and Venice was prepared for the possibility that Constantinople might be taken or that John VII might be on the throne<sup>14</sup>. It is within this context that Letter 33 seems to belong.

Demetrius Chrysoloras had written a lengthy plea, the contents of which are not specified. Manuel praised his beautiful writing, but finds it difficult to compose a proper and detailed reply. He chooses to speak frankly and claims that the letter really consisted only of elegance and mere plausibility, which is quite unconvincing. He does not attribute this weakness to Chrysoloras, but to the matter he was compelled to request. Although the emperor is extremely busy, it would be discourteous not to reply, and so he will limit himself to just one remark. "What you say is said very beautifully but, on the other hand, you should have applied it to those whom it really fit, and in this way persuade these people too not to forget that I am a father nor to be ignorant of the enemy or, if you wish, persuade them to try to distinguish between those whom it is right to trust and those whom it is right to distrust".

Perhaps one could paraphrase what Manuel is saying as follows. John VII has asked, or forced you (Chrysoloras) to request that I agree that he should succeed to the throne (either immediately or upon my death). But, although you phrased them very nicely, your arguments are not convincing, chiefly because of the very nature of the request. The reasons you gave for my yielding the throne apply better to him than to me. For I am a father with a son and heir (John VIII, born in 1392). Moreover, he should be aware of the real intent of the enemy (Bajezid, who wants to use John VII to take over the empire for himself). In other words, you should know whom you should trust and whom you should not trust, that is, you should not trust Bajezid.

The close connection of Demetrius Chrysoloras with John VII in Thessalonica from 1403 to 1408 may have begun earlier in Selymbria, John's residence and capital during the 1390's, and it may have been in some official capacity that he made the proposal on behalf of John. One

<sup>13</sup> On the children of Manuel see P. Schreiner, *Chronologische Untersuchungen zur Familie Kaiser Manuels II.* "Byzantinische Zeitschrift", 63, 1970, pp. 285–99.

<sup>14</sup> For some details and further references see J. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425). A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship*, 1969, New Brunswick, New Jersey, pp. 142–49.

can only speculate about the details of the proposed agreement. Was John to ascend the throne in Constantinople immediately, or was he to succeed Manuel at his death and in turn be succeeded by Manuel's son, as they had agreed to do in 1393 and would again agree in 1403? At the time he wrote this letter, Manuel had at least one son (John VIII) and was thus in a more advantageous position than his nephew John VII, apparently still childless<sup>15</sup>. In any case, Manuel clearly rejected any agreement with John VII in this carefully worded composition which he wanted to preserve for posterity; undoubtedly he had already rejected the proposal in less classical and less complicated language.

<sup>15</sup> See G. Dennis, *An Unknown Byzantine Emperor, Andronicus V Palaeologus (1400–1407?)*, "Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft", 16, 1967, pp. 175–87.

NICHOLAS CABASILAS CHAMAËTOS  
AND HIS DISCOURSE ON ABUSES COMMITTED BY  
AUTHORITIES AGAINST SACRED THINGS

Nicholas Chamaëtos, more commonly known by his mother's maiden name of Cabasilas, was highly regarded by his contemporaries for his learning and integrity. While modern scholars also hold him in esteem, they must admit that they know little about the facts of his life and that they have had difficulty in understanding some of his writings.<sup>1</sup> The reason for much of this derives from a confusion of Nicholas with his maternal uncle Neil. In fact, this was pointed out long ago by the Austrian librarian Daniel de Nessel in a note to *cod. Vindob. theol. gr. 210*: "... agitur de Nilo, archiepiscopo Thessalonicensi, Nicolai hujus avunculo, qui a plerisque perperam cum ipso Nicolao confunditur."<sup>2</sup> This confusion has arisen because the uncle's baptismal name seems to have been Nicholas, whereas Neil was the name he assumed on becoming a monk sometime between 1354 and 1360. It was the uncle, then, still known as Nicholas, who was a candidate for the patriarchate in 1353 and who, with his name changed to Neil, was named metropolitan of Thessalonica in 1360-61.<sup>3</sup>

The main facts in the life of the nephew, Nicholas Cabasilas Chamaëtos, have now been established and generally agreed on by scholars.<sup>4</sup> He was born about 1320-23 in Thessalonica, studied there and in Constantinople, belonged to the entourage of John Cantacuzenus, had some connection with the legal profession, delivered formal orations, composed various treatises.

1. See the bibliographical references in G. T. Dennis, S. J. *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus*, Dumbarton Oaks Texts, IV, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, Consilio Societatis Internationalis Studiis Byzantinae Provehendis Destinatae Editum, vol. VIII (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Trustees for Harvard University, 1977), pp. xxx-xxxiv. Cf. also A. A. Angelopoulos, Νικόλαος Καβάσιλας Χαμαῆτος. Ἡ ζωὴ καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ. Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων, 5 (Thessaloniki: Πατριαρχικὸν Ἰδρυμα Πατερικῶν Μελετῶν, 1970); P. Charanis, "Observations on the 'Anti-Zealot' Discourse of Cabasilas," *Revue des Etudes sud-est européennes*, 9 (1971), 369-76; and H. Müller-Asshoff, "Beobachtungen an den Hauptschriften des Gregorios Palamas und Nikolaos Kabasilas," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 70 (1977), 22-41.

2. *Catalogus Bibliothecae Caesariae manuscriptorum codicum theologicorum* (Vienna, 1690), p. 308.

3. Dennis, *Letters of Manuel II*, p. xxx. That the uncle's baptismal name was Nicholas was first suggested by R. J. Loenertz, quoted in L. Thomas's review of N. B. Tomadakes, 'Ο Ἰωσήφ Βρυέννιος καὶ Κρήτη κατὰ τὸ 1400 . . . , in *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, 6 (1948), 117-21.

4. Dennis, *Letters of Manuel II*, p. xxxi.

and died sometime in the 1390s. We know some of his friends from his own correspondence and from that of Joseph Bryennios, Demetrius Cydones, and Manuel Palaeologus. He was staunchly Orthodox and pro-Palamite; although deeply religious, there is no clear evidence that he ever became a monk.<sup>5</sup>

It has taken scholars a long time to compile accurate biographical data on Nicholas, and it has also taken them a long time to interpret some of his writings correctly. Several of the eighteen letters of his edited in 1953 were erroneously dated and understood, but corrections have been made, and the text and comprehension of the letters improved.<sup>6</sup> A brief oration of his, "To the Athenians Concerning the Altar of Mercy," was not, as R. Guiland pointed out, simply a rhetorical exercise, but dealt with a contemporary, although unspecified, problem.<sup>7</sup>

The most important reinterpretation of his writing is that by Ihor Ševčenko of Nicholas' *Discourse on Abuses Committed by Authorities Against Sacred Things*. As far back as 1882 C. N. Sathas published some excerpts from the *Discourse*, and in 1913 O. Tafrali added to them and made use of them to prove that the *Discourse* was directed against the Zealot regime in Thessalonica during the 1340s and that it provided us with information about the Zealot movement and program. During the next forty years almost everyone who dealt with the subject in any way adopted, or sometimes expanded, the views of Tafrali. In 1957 Ševčenko edited the entire *Discourse* and proved beyond a doubt that it had nothing whatsoever to do with the Zealot regime or program.<sup>8</sup> That was, as he clearly stated, his main point. He also made one suggestion about those to whom the *Discourse* was directed, to which we shall return.

The main point established by Ševčenko, that the *Discourse* had nothing to do with the Zealots, was readily accepted by most scholars. The very few who disagreed seem to have been prompted by considerations of ideology,

5. He may have acquired an ἀδελφότης in a monastery, as did Demetrius Cydones, which would have given him a certain share in the life of the monks. At some point he may have wavered in his Orthodoxy, for a curious letter from his uncle Neil cautions him lest his actions bring him "to stand with the enemies of Christ." Ed. S. Lambros, Νέος Ἑλληνομνημίων, 2 (1905), 305-06.

6. See R. J. Loenertz, "Chronologie de Nicholas Cabasilas, 1345-1354," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 21 (1955), 205-31; I. Ševčenko, "Nicolai Cabasilas' Correspondence and the Treatment of Late Byzantine Literary Texts," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 47 (1954), 49-59; and Dennis, *Letters of Manuel II*, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv.

7. "Le Traité inédit 'sur l'usure' de Nicolas Cabasilas," in ΕΙΣ ΜΝΗΜΗΝ Σπυριδῶνος Λάμπρου (Athina: Επιτροπή ἐκδόσεως τῶν καταλοίπων Σπυριδῶνος Λάμπρου, 1935), pp. 269-77; it has been edited by Angelopoulos, see above, fn. 1.

8. I. Ševčenko, "Nicholas Cabasilas' 'Anti-Zealot' Discourse: A Reinterpretation," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 11 (1957), 79-171, which gives references to previous literature. Citations from the *Discourse* follow Ševčenko's edition.

or perhaps salary, and not by serious research. In 1962 Ševčenko examined their criticisms of his interpretation of the *Discourse* and found, quite rightly, that none of them adduced any new information or invalidated his principle conclusion.<sup>9</sup> Since then there has been general agreement among scholars that the *Discourse* has nothing to do with the Zealots in Thessalonica.<sup>10</sup>

Against whom was the *Discourse* directed? Who were the authorities attacked by Cabasilas? The title informs us that the *Discourse* is concerned with abuses committed in sacred matter by authorities. It deals with two types of abuses and two types of authorities. The first sort of abuse is committed by civil authorities, the prime example of which is the secularization of church property. The second is committed by ecclesiastical authorities, and consists of such acts as simony. The term used by Cabasilas, *archontes*, is a very general one applicable to authorities or officials of all sorts and ranks. Discussions of the *Discourse* have sought to identify these authorities. The suggestion, and it was no more than that, first made by Ševčenko in 1957 was that the *Discourse* attacked the Loyalist authorities in Constantinople in the early 1340s, especially Alexios Apocaucus, and either metropolitan Hyacinth of Thessalonica or Patriarch John Calecas.<sup>11</sup> The present writer very tentatively suggested that the *Discourse* may have been written in the 1370s or 1380s and that Cabasilas may have had officials of Manuel II Palaeologus in mind.<sup>12</sup> This was accepted as a reasonable suggestion, and it seemed to receive confirmation in the fact that the watermarks of an earlier version of the *Discourse* belonged to the last thirty years of the fourteenth century.<sup>13</sup> In addition, the writing itself does not impress the reader as that of a young man, as was Cabasilas in the 1340s, but that of a more mature mind. As matters now stand, then, there appears to be a consensus among

9. "A Postscript on Nicolas Cabasilas' 'Anti-Zealot' Discourse," *ibid.*, 16 (1962), 403-08.

10. See K. P. Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion in Byzanz im 14. Jahrhundert. Konstantinopel in der Bürgerkriegsperiode von 1341 bis 1354*, Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten, Bd. 42 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1971), p. 32. The only one who still seems to attribute the *Discourse* to the Zealot movement is C. P. Kyrris, "Gouvernés et gouvernants à Byzance pendant la révolution des Zélotes (1341-1350)," in *Gouvernés et Gouvernants*, Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin pour l'histoire comparative des institutions, t. 22 (Bruxelles: Editions de la Librairie encyclopédique, 1969-), II, 271-330: see the very charitable review of this by G. Weiss in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 64 (1971), 377-78.

11. Ševčenko, "Anti-Zealot Discourse," pp. 163-69.

12. G. T. Dennis, *The Reign of Manuel II Paleologus in Thessalonica, 1382-1387*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 159 (Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1960), p. 91, n. 30.

13. I. Ševčenko, "The Author's Draft of Nicolas Cabasilas' 'Anti-Zealot' Discourse in *Parisinus graecus* 1276," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 14 (1960), pp. 179-201; *idem*, "A Postscript," *ibid.*, pp. 405-07; and P. Charanis's review of G. T. Dennis, S. J., *The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus . . .*, in *Speculum*, 36 (1961), 476-77.

scholars that the *Discourse* was probably written in the last three decades of the fourteenth century, but, as Ševčenko concludes, none can say exactly when, where, or against whom it was written.<sup>14</sup>

This article contends that we may have been asking the wrong questions. First, we need not waste time asking exactly when and where the work was composed. Nothing in the text affords a solid clue to enable us to date it; nothing in the text connects the treatise with Thessalonica, Constantinople, or any other place. In particular, we do not need to ask against whom the *Discourse* was directed. The abuses committed by civil and religious leaders which the *Discourse* condemns had been going on for a long, long time, and were so common, especially in the fourteenth century, that it is impossible to be precise.<sup>15</sup> Another point to bear in mind is that the *Discourse* is a piece of rhetoric, forensic rhetoric in format, but still rhetoric, and one need not take every word literally. After rereading the text, it seems clear to this writer that the *Discourse* was not directed against any specific individuals.

The title, probably added by the author, succinctly describes the content of the treatise.<sup>16</sup> It is directed against abuses committed in dealing with sacred things by the authorities. It is difficult to convey in one word the implications of the term *archontes*. For Cabasilas it designates persons legitimately invested with authority. He does not contest the legality of their authority, but he is concerned that they may use it improperly. He is talking about two groups of authorities, those who exercise jurisdiction in the civil or secular sphere and those whose jurisdiction is ecclesiastical. The only thing they have in common is that they possess lawful power which they abuse, and they do so in dealing with sacred things. The term, *τὰ ἁγία*, sacred matter, sacred things, denotes primarily the sacraments; then it refers to the chalices, plate, altars, church buildings, and other material furnishings necessary for or connected with the sacraments. But Cabasilas employs it in a broad sense, too broad, for he includes monastic property and private possessions of the clergy.

Cabasilas begins his *Discourse* by explaining whom he is addressing and for what purpose (§ 1-3). He then summarizes the arguments of his adversaries, first those of the secular authorities and then those of the religious (§ 4-9). The bulk of the *Discourse* is taken up with a detailed refutation of each one of their arguments, the secular (§ 10-32) and the religious (§ 33-59). A summary paragraph (§ 60) concludes the treatise.

14. Ševčenko, "A Postscript," p. 407; also see Charanis, "Observations."

15. Ševčenko also seems to have been thinking along these lines: "Anti-Zealot Discourse," pp. 144-46, and 153.

16. In the *cod. Paris. gr. 1276* the title is given as *Πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις*. But it has been added by a later hand. See Ševčenko, "The Author's Draft," p. 191.

From the beginning Cabasilas stresses that he is denouncing abuses of authority. But, of course, in attacking abuses, one can scarcely avoid touching the men who commit the abuses. Still, he does not want to be too harsh; he does not want to alienate his audience. He tries to soften his blows as much as possible. First, he includes in his lengthy indictment a wide variety of transgressions. The culpable authorities will not feel they have been singled out, but will at least find themselves in a large and distinguished company. Cabasilas divides the authorities into two categories. There are those who do evil knowingly and deliberately; they are beyond help or correction; their case is hopeless. And so he will not waste any time at all on them, but will leave them to the judgment of God. Obviously, very few persons will admit they fall into this category. It is to the other group that he speaks, to those "who want to be good and just in every respect, but who act unlawfully because they have been deceived by specious reasoning." (§ 1) They "would be willing to do anything rather than intentionally transgress the law." (§ 3) These authorities are reasonable and willing to listen; they simply need instruction. "They are not ashamed to learn, and if someone should teach them what is to be avoided, they are not ashamed or resentful, but they look on it as an act of kindness." (§ 3) If they have committed any unlawful acts, they have done so because they did not realize they were unlawful. It should be enough to explain matters to them and to enlighten their minds. This is exactly what Cabasilas proposes to do. He does not set out to reprimand or castigate them; he intends simply to teach them. Then he goes a step further to gain the good will of these authorities. He makes it clear that he is not criticizing the authorities themselves or blaming them directly for their unlawful conduct. His criticism and his arguments are directed past them against others (§ 2). He places the blame on their counsellors, perhaps also their spiritual directors, who have misled them. It is these advisors whom he debates, presumably theologians, moralists, jurists, who defend the actions of the authorities. In the *Discourse* Cabasilas refutes the arguments which these persons advance. He moves the debate off center; he takes away from the authorities some of the responsibility for their actions and places it on their advisors and defenders.<sup>17</sup>

Once this is clear, it becomes less important to try to identify the authorities envisioned by the speaker. It is also idle to speculate on the identity of their defenders, for Cabasilas is concerned with refuting their arguments, and does not mention their names. We do not even know whether any of

17. In 1383 Metropolitan Isidore Glabas of Thessalonica attacked certain men who were advising Manuel II Palaeologus to confiscate church property, but Isidore had some practical, political problems to face, and spoke on a plane somewhat less lofty than Cabasilas: Dennis, S. J. *The Reign of Manuel II*, p. 89.

these theorists committed their views to writing at this time; at any rate, it seems that no treatise of theirs has survived. Some years later, however, George Gemistos Plethon would become their spokesman.<sup>18</sup>

As already mentioned, the first set of abuses which Cabasilas describes are those committed by civil authorities, and he is particularly concerned with the secularization of church property. The *Discourse* supposes that confiscations of monastic and other ecclesiastical property and the granting of such in *πρόνοια*, or otherwise using them for military purposes, was frequent. Indeed, other sources for the period make it clear that property belonging to religious institutions was frequently taken and given to the military nobility or the income used to build or repair walls, furnish ships, and the like. The *Discourse* also makes it clear that these confiscations found advocates among theologians and jurists. They were numerous enough that Cabasilas believed he had to write a treatise to refute their arguments. His purpose is to prove that these theorists are wrong, and in this way to explain the laws and to enlighten the minds and consciences of the civil authorities who carried out these confiscations. Strictly speaking, only an emperor or a sovereign despot, as in Mistra, or perhaps a governor to whom they delegated such authority, could perform such actions. The *Discourse* is not meant to be an attack on a ruler, but is intended as an instruction, a gentle bit of advice, a benevolent exhortation. It may well be that the emperor, who is one of the authorities in question, was a friend of Cabasilas who might welcome this advice. In other words, Cabasilas may simply be providing the emperor (or other authority) with arguments against those advising him to secularize church property.

Cabasilas makes certain that the civil rulers are not the only ones criticized. He devotes about half of his *Discourse* to denouncing the actions of certain churchmen. Again, it seems clear that he is not concerned with a specific individual. He is concerned with abuses which had plagued the Byzantine church for a very long time. As is also clear, they were abuses of the sort which might be committed by any metropolitan, including the patriarch of Constantinople. He does not seem to single out the patriarch at all. The term, "common shepherd" (§ 8), can apply to the metropolitan in his territory as well as to the patriarch in the empire. The prelate had sworn to observe the laws; he had "called upon God and the whole assembly of elders to witness" (§ 38). In fact, a newly elected bishop did not swear an oath, which was strictly forbidden to all clerics, but he made a written profession of faith and a promise to observe the canons, and his signature on

18. For example see Plethon's *Memorials to Despot Theodore II and Emperor Manuel II*, ed. S. Lampros, *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, 4 vols. (Athina: Ἐπιτροπή Ἐκδόσεως τῶν καταλοίπων Σπυριδῶνος Λάμπρου, 1912-30), III, 257-59 and IV, 125.

that document was regarded as having the force of an oath.<sup>19</sup> Generally this profession of faith and promise was made by the newly elected metropolitan in the presence of the holy synod, and by a newly elected patriarch also in the presence of the senate.<sup>20</sup> The assembly of elders (γερονσία), as used by a rhetorician such as Cabasilas, is difficult to specify. If by it he means the senate, then we may have to do with the election of a patriarch. The term can also mean the advisors of an abbot (or πρῶτος of Mount Athos).<sup>21</sup> It can also mean, as it probably does in this context, the patriarchal or holy synod, the permanent synod composed of the leading metropolitans.<sup>22</sup> Cabasilas, though, is not attacking a specific prelate any more than a specific secular lord. As with the others, he concentrates on refuting the arguments of those who defend the actions of prelates which he considers wrong.

In some respects this is the same sort of composition as his *Treatise Against Usurers*.<sup>23</sup> In that Cabasilas points out the evils of usury, which he condemns as sinful and illegal; he presents the arguments of the usurers and refutes them. He is concerned with debating the issues and not attacking individuals, and indeed, it is almost impossible to pick out any specific allusions to time, place, or persons.

To sum it up, the *Discourse* of Cabasilas is concerned with unlawful acts in connection with sacred matter, primarily the secularization of church

19. Some aspects of the procedure are not clear. In general, see J. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les ὁφείκια de l'église byzantine*, Archives de l'Orient chrétien, 11 (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1970), pp. 443-50; *idem*, *Documents inédits d'ecclésiologie byzantine*, Archives de l'Orient chrétien, 10 (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1966), pp. 5-20; V. Laurent, "Le Trisépiscopat du patriarche Matthieu I<sup>er</sup> (1397-1410). Un grand procès canonique à Byzance au début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, 30 (1972), 98; and A. Failler, "La Déposition du patriarche Calliste I<sup>er</sup> (1353)," *ibid.*, 31 (1973), 127-28.

20. Darrouzès, *Recherches*, p. 474; *idem*, "Εκθέσις νέα. Manuel des πρῶτοις du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, 27 (1969), 78-79; V. Laurent, "Le Rituel de l'investiture du patriarche byzantin au début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Bulletin de l'Académie roumaine*, 28 (1947), 218-32.

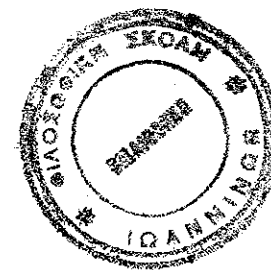
21. Démétrius Cydonès *Correspondance*, ed. R.-J. Loenertz, Studi e Testi, 208 (Vatican: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1956-), II, 96, 35; P. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster* (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1894), p. 169; see H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 12 Abt. (München: Beck, 1959), p. 132.

22. Gelasius Cyzicenus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeco-latina* [hereafter PG], ed. J. P. Migne. 161 vols. in 166 (Paris: Lutetia, 1857-66), LXXXV, col. 1293D; Ioannes Tzetzes, *Epistulae*, ed. P. A. M. Leone, Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1972), pp. 40, 18; 155, 15; and 172, 18; and Anne Comnène, *Alexiade (règne de l'empereur Alexis I Comnène, 1081-1118)*, . . . , ed. and trans. B. Leib, 3 vols., Collection byzantin, pub. sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé (Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1937-43), 15, 6: III, 221.

23. PG, CL, cols. 727-50. His address to Anne of Savoy on usury (see n. 7, *supra*) deals with a specific law in specific circumstances.

property and simony, which have been committed by persons invested with legitimate authority, but who misuse that authority. Cabasilas supposes that their actions are due not to bad will, but to error or ignorance, and he sets out to enlighten them. To this end he refutes the arguments of those theoreticians who attempt to justify such acts, which Cabasilas regards as contrary to the divine law and the canons of the church. Whatever we might now think of church property and the state, to Cabasilas it was a serious matter which affected one's eternal salvation. The preoccupations of Cabasilas are not political or mercenary, but of a higher intellectual and moral order, more along the lines of what we might expect from the commentator on the liturgy and the author of *Life in Christ*. He is concerned with canonical and theological arguments, and not with any specific adversaries.

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## The Letters of Theodore Potamios

An inventory of manuscripts on Mount Athos compiled early in the eighteenth century lists twenty letters of Theodore Potamios in a manuscript, now located in the monastery of Iviron (*cod. 184*).<sup>1</sup> The manuscript has since been torn in places, and some pages are missing, so that it now contains only thirteen letters, with a fraction of a fourteenth. The writing is not particularly distinguished. The ink is a dark brown with the titles in a faded red. The last three of the extant folios have had the top right corner torn off diagonally down through the first seven lines of text. The resulting lacunae are indicated by ... in the present edition.

Behind the rhetorical drapery the letters of Theodore Potamios provide us with another glimpse, albeit a very brief one, into late fourteenth century Byzantium. The literary significance of the letters may be questioned, but they do add something to our fragmentary knowledge of the period, and, in particular, of the life and attitudes of Potamios and his friends. This in itself would justify their publication.<sup>2</sup> To render their use more practicable an English translation has been included and some notes and comments added.

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<sup>1</sup>K. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, I (Venice, 1872), 282; S. Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, II (Cambridge, 1900), no. 4304, pp. 49-50.

<sup>2</sup>A few excerpts from the letters were published by S. Lampros in *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, 2 (1885), 48-62; some more were edited by G. Dennis, *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus. Text, Translation, and Notes* (*Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae*, 8; Washington, 1977), 224-27.

The letters of Potamios are typical Byzantine compositions, part of an epistolary tradition going back to Classical antiquity.<sup>3</sup> They are written in an archaic, artificial language, and might impress the reader as rhetorical exercises rather than attempts at communication. There is a reluctance to give dates, names, or places. While Potamios mentions that he is residing in a "turbulent and miserable community", he refuses to tell us its name or location. He addresses a letter "to the emperor", but does not tell us which emperor. His letters are, nonetheless, real letters written to real people. They may be difficult to understand and to interpret, but as with other letters of the period a careful study may have its rewards.<sup>4</sup>

Theodore Potamios, or Potames, was born sometime about 1340.<sup>5</sup> In his letter (9) to Isidore Glabas, metropolitan of Thessalonica from 1380 to 1396, he recalls their studies together as youths. Isidore was born in 1342 (see below); Potamios, then, as his contemporary, must have been born about the same time. His close ties with Kydones, Glabas, Demetrius Chrysoloras, and others incline one to place his beginnings in Thessalonica, but nothing definitive can be stated on that. At any rate, probably either in Thessalonica or in Constantinople, he received an excellent education which, as his letters make clear, emphasized Classical Greek literature and rhetoric. There is no indication in the sources that he ever joined the ranks of the clergy or became a monk. Perhaps he obtained a position in the imperial bureaucracy, as did so many of his friends. He was known as a rhetorician or orator, which would imply academic, legal, and administrative activity. But, we know of only one oration clearly attributed to him, an undated, lengthy monody on the death of the emperor John Palaeologus, undoubtedly John VII, who died in 1408.<sup>6</sup> He

<sup>3</sup>In general see H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, I (Munich, 1978), 199-239.

<sup>4</sup>See Dennis, *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus*, xviii-xx.

<sup>5</sup>Some details of his life are given in Dennis, *op. cit.*, xlvi-1.

<sup>6</sup>Edited by S. Lampros, "Ἐοδόωρος ὁ Ποτάμιος καὶ ἡ εἰς Ἰωάννην τὸν Παλαιολόγον μονωδία αὐτοῦ", *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, 2 (1885), 48-62. The manuscripts ascribe the monody to Theodore Potakios, k being easily mistaken for m in copying minuscule writing. Lampros believed that the deceased emperor was John V, but the references in the oration to victories over the barbarians, the city risen up again, deserted lands again inhabited, the untimely death of this great emperor John, son of Andronicus, who had assumed

was regarded, or at least satirized, as possessing a formidable talent for invective, both in his speech and in his writing.<sup>7</sup> To acquire that reputation, then, he must surely have delivered many more speeches, and his literary production, especially epistolary, must have been far greater than the thirteen letters now extant.

When Mazaris visited Hades, supposedly in 1414, Potamios was already there, and asked for news "about his dear little western boy, Kamytzes, who had the brains of a cow. Was he still plucking out his hair?"<sup>8</sup> He also asked about a certain drunkard, Charsianites. It is not clear whether these were the names of real persons or whether they are examples of Mazaris's punning and humor. Kamytzes, for instance, is similar to the word used for the lowing or bellowing of cattle, and it could also be related to the name of the island of Mykonos, whose inhabitants were proverbially supposed to be bald. At any rate, while the names and allusions are lost on us, they may once have called forth snickers or even gales of laughter at the Byzantine court.

At some point, probably in the early 1370's, Potamios was forced to leave his fatherland (Letter 2), but it is not clear whether this meant the city in which he resided or the Byzantine empire as such. One result of his departure, as he laments, was the loss of his books. For some thirteen years at least he had to live among "uncouth people" who spoke "a strange and barbaric tongue". Unfortunately, he does not give us the name of the place or even enough clues to enable us to guess with any degree of certainty. Very few facts emerge from his letters. The people of the city, the "turbulent and miserable community" did not speak Greek, surely not good Greek. The barbaric language they spoke may have been Turkish or, more likely, Italian or another western European language. The city was accessible by sea, since ships sailing there were attacked by pirates. In 1384-85 Chrysoloras and Bryennios made

the monastic habit before dying and who was apparently survived only by his widow, make it virtually certain that the emperor was John VII.

<sup>7</sup>Mazaris, *Journey to Hades*, ed. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota graeca*, III (Paris, 1831), 112-86; new ed. with English translation and commentary under the direction of L. G. Westerink (*Arethusa Monographs* V; Buffalo, 1975), p. 150.

<sup>8</sup>*Journey to Hades*, 150. The editors translate the phrase as his "son in the West", which could be correct, but not as interesting.



up part of an embassy "from the emperor to the barbarian", and "because of the common nature of the negotiations" the two were able to stop off and visit with Potamios (Letter 8). The "barbarian" must be the Turkish emir Murad I, or possibly his general Khairreddin Pasha, who was then engaged in besieging the city of Thessalonica, which had been ruled since 1382 by Manuel II Palaeologus in defiance of his father. The embassy may have been one of several sent by Manuel to explore the chances of reaching a settlement with the Turks, or it may have been sent by John V in Constantinople.<sup>9</sup> The latter seems more likely. All of this inclines one to think of a Latin state not too far from either Constantinople or Thessalonica, perhaps one of the Gattilusio holdings, such as the island of Mytilene or Ainos on the Thracian mainland. Perhaps it was Corinth, whose lord, Nerio Acciajuoli, was an ally of Manuel, or maybe most likely, a Venetian possession such as Negroponte.<sup>10</sup>

After a number of years Potamios returned to Thessalonica, probably when the city was restored to Byzantine rule in 1403. He may have played a role in the governing of the city, as did his friend Demetrius Chrysoloras, who was the mesazon or chief minister for the ruler John VII Palaeologus. It was there, probably in the years 1403-1408, that he received a short letter (no. 47) from Manuel II advising him, as he had advised Chrysoloras, to be more sparing with his praises. As mentioned above, he delivered the funeral oration for John VII in 1408. He must have died within the next few years, before 1414, when Mazaris saw him in Hades.

<sup>9</sup>In autumn 1383 Manuel sent such an embassy to the Turks: see G. Dennis, *The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382-1387* (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 159; Rome, 1960), 83-85. John V sent a delegation headed by a man named Palaiologos to Khairreddin in 1385-86: *ibid.*, 129.

<sup>10</sup>A captain Potames is noted as having arrived in Thessalonica from Negroponte in 1425: K. Mertzius, *Μνημεῖα Μακεδονικῆς Ἱστορίας* (Μακεδονικῆ Βιβλιοθήκη, 7; Salonika, 1947), 60.

## Theodori Potamii epistulae

cod. Ivirion 184, fol. 121-127v

f.121 Τοῦ σοφωτάτου Θεοδώρου τοῦ Ποταμίου <ἐπιστολαί>

1.

Τῷ Κυδώνη

α'

Ῥῆμην μὲν τὸ τῶν κολοιδῶν μοι συμβαίνειν περὶ τοὺς λόγους, καὶ ὅταν τι λέγοιμι μᾶλλον τοὺς ἀκροατὰς λυπεῖν καὶ ταράττειν ἢ καὶ ὀποσοῦν τι πρὸς ἡδονὴν τούτων ᾄδειν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ σὴ σοφία τὸ μὲν τῶν κολοιδῶν ἡμῖν οὐ προσήκειν ἐν λόγοις, τὸ δέ γε κύκνων ἐν τούτοις μᾶλλον ψηφίζεται, καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς πολλοὺς τῶν γνωρίμων οἷς λέγει δῆπουθεν ἰσχυρίζεται, τὴν μὲν ψῆφον ὡς παρὰ τοῦ τῶν ἐν λόγοις πρώτου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξενηνεγμένην οὐκ ἂν ἐκρουσάμεθα; Ἐπεὶ τοί γε οὐδὲ θεμιτόν, εὐξαίμεθα δ' ἂν τῷ θεῷ τῇ παρὰ σοῦ γε ψήφῳ καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους λόγους συμβαίνειν ἀεὶ, κάπῃ μείζον χωρεῖν καὶ βελτίους γίνεσθαι, καὶ μηδαμῇ ποτ' ἐλάττους φανῆναι τῶν ὧν παρὰ τῆς σῆς σοφίας τετίμηνται, μηδὲ μελαίνης ψήφου τυχεῖν ποτέ. Ὁ δὲ τούτοις βασκάνοις λίαν ἐσπούδασται ὡς δ' αὐτῶς σοί τε τῷ τὰ τοιαῦτα περὶ ἡμῶν διοριζομένῳ κάπῃ τοσοῦτον ἐξαῖροντι, διδόναι μὲν ὑγίειαν ἐν παντί, ἄκρον δ' εἶναι φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ τὸ ψηφίζεσθαι. Τοῖς δ' ἐφ' οἷς ἂν ψηφίζοιο τάναντία δρᾶν πειρωμένοις καὶ τονθορύζουσι, τούτοις μετὰ μελόν. Εἰ δὲ μὴ τῷδε χρήσασθαι βούλονται, ἀλλ' ἐκόντες ὄντες ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς κακίας αἰροῦνται καὶ τοῖς σοι δεδογμένοις οὐ δικαίως ἀντικαθίστασθαι, σὺν αὐτῇ γε δῆπου τῇ βασκανίᾳ καταστροφὴν εἰ μὴ βούλονται. Ἡμῖν γὰρ ἥττον τούτων δῆπουθεν μέλει τὸ μέγιστον κεκτημένοις καὶ παρὰ τῆς σῆς σοφίας καρπουμένοις τὸν ἔπαινον.

15 Plutarchus, *Alcibiades*, 22, 2; *Suidae Lexicon*, γ 85 (ed. A. Adler, 4, 845).

## 2.

Τῷ Πόθῳ

β'

Χάρις τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀπαλλαγεῖσι μὲν τῆς πρώην  
πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορᾶς, καὶ τῆς μελαίνης δέ γε τύχης ἡ-  
μᾶς ὥστ' καὶ μόλις ὁπωσοῦν ἀπαλλάξασιν, ὅφ' ἥς τὸ ἡμέτε-  
121<sup>v</sup> ρον γένος τοσοῦτον ἤδη χρόνον φθειρόμενον, οὐκ ἔτι | γέ-  
6 νος οὐδ' ἔθνος, ἀλλὰ κατὰλειμμά τι γένους γεγενῆται καὶ  
οἶον οὐκ ἂν τις ῥαδίως γνωρίσειε πότερον γένους μέρος ἢ  
ἔχνος ἔθνους καθέστηκε. Καὶ ὅτι τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης κάλλει  
ὑποψία μὲν ἀπελήλαται πᾶσα, φόβος δ' ἅπας ἐκκέκρουσται,  
10 καὶ τοῦ δέους ἀπαλλαγέντες οἱ φίλοι τοῦ γράφειν ἀλλή-  
λοις ἀδεῶς ἤρξαντο, καὶ οἶον ἀναγινώσκειν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς  
τὴν προτέραν φιλίαν καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ μαρανθεῖσαν ἀνανέουν  
καὶ ἀνθηρὰν αὖθις ἐργάζεσθαι.

Ὅθεν καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ χρόνου σοῦ τοῦ πάντα βελτίστου  
15 γράμματα δεδεγμένος τὴν τε παλαιὰν φιλίαν καὶ τὴν ἐκ  
παίδων περὶ λόγους διατριβὴν οἶον ἀναγνωρίζοντα, ὑπερ-  
ῆσθην ἐκτόπως ὅτι τῶν ὧν ἐπεθύμουν ἐπέτυχον παρ' ἐλπίδα  
καὶ ὥς ἑρμαῖφ' τινι περιτυχὼν τῶν καλλίστων οὐκ ἔστιν  
εἰπεῖν ὅφ' ἡδονῆς ὅστις ἐγεγενήμην· τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς οἷς  
20 ἐπέσταλκας εὐφρυνας. ἐλύπησας δὲ μόνον οἷς ἡξίους ὥς  
ἀπὸ κρηνῶν τῶν Μουσῶν γραμμάτων ἡμετέρων τρεῖν. Κρῆναι  
γὰρ Μουσῶν παρ' ἡμῖν οὐκ εἰσὶν, ὥς αὐτός, ὦ βέλτιστε,  
χαριζόμενος ἔφης. Οὐ μὲν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ῥύακες λόγων.

Πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς οἷς ἡμῖν ἡ παρεληλυθυῖα  
25 παρεσκεύακε δεκαετηρὶς καὶ βεβαρβαρῶσθαι πεποίηκε, τοῦ-  
το μὲν ὅτι βαναυσώδεσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐς τὸ διηνεκέες συνδι-  
ήγομεν καὶ χωρίοις ἐνδιατρίβομεν Μούσης τε καὶ παιδείας  
'Ελληνικῆς εἰς ἅπαν ἀπφικισμένοις, τοῦτο δ' ὅτι καὶ βιβ-  
λίων ἀπάντων ἀποστερηθέντες τῇ τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων  
30 καινοτομίᾳ, οὐκ εἴχομεν ὅτῳ δήποτε τρόπῳ τοῖς λόγοις  
μετ' ἀκριβείας προσφέρεσθαι καὶ χρῆσθαι τούτοις θαρ-  
ρουντως, οἷονεὶ τῆς στάθμης οὐκ οὔσης. Ἀλλὰ συσπειρώ-  
μενοι τῇ οἰκίᾳ μόνοι μόνοις ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς γε διαλεγόμεθα,  
τῶν προτέρων ἐκείνων ἀναμνησκόμενοι μαθημάτων, πρὸς  
35 γοῦν τῷ μὴ προσκτῆσασθαι τι τῶν βελτιόνων ἐν τῇ τῆς  
πατρίδος φυγῇ. Καὶ τούναντίον πεπονθέναι συμπεπτικε,  
καὶ ὁ μᾶλλον ἐκ νέας πολλὰ κεκημηκότες ἡμεῖς συνειλόχα-  
μεν, τοῦτο δὲ πρὸς γῆρας ἑλληικότες καὶ προσπολωλέκ-  
αμεν διὰ τὴν τῆς τύχης δυσχέρειαν. Ἐὼ γὰρ λέγειν τὴν  
40 τῶν κρατούντων μικροψυχίαν, ὅφ' ἥς ἡμεῖς τὸ πᾶν ἐπεπόν-

6 Cf. *Genesim*, 45, 7.

θαμεν. Ὅθεν οὐκ ἂν δικαίως αἰτίαν φερούμεθα εἰ καὶ  
τῆς σῆς προσδοκίας ἐλάττους ἐν λόγοις γεγονότες φανεί-  
ημεν.

## 3.

Τῷ Πόθῳ

γ'

'Αλλ' ἡ βραδυτῆς οἶα τις ἄλλος διαιτητῆς γεγонуῖα  
122 πέπεικεν ἡμᾶς ἀποδοῦναί σοι | τὸ χρέος σὺν τόκῳ, καὶ  
τὴν τῆς ἀπολογίας ἀναβολὴν ἐν ἣ πολὺ τι μῆκος ἡμερῶν  
5 ἔμοιγ' ἐτέτριπτο τῷ διπλῷ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ἐπανωρθωκέναι,  
καὶ μὴ τὸ πᾶν ἐπιγραψαμένους τῇ φορᾷ τῆς κακίας, καὶ  
τοῦτο Πάτροκλον ὁ φασιν, εὐραμένους ἡδίκηκέναι φίλον  
οὕτω τῆς ἐμῆς φωνῆς ἐξηρητημένον. Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν εἰκὸς  
ἐπιγεγράφθαι τῇ τύχῃ τοῦτ' ἐκείνη προσάπτειν, ὁ δ' ἔμοι  
10 καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις προσήκει τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέπειν.  
Ἄτοπον γὰρ ἡγησάμην ὅτι οἱ μὲν τὰς πολιτικὰς μεταχειρ-  
ιζόμενοι τέχνας ἵνα τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους τῶν φίλων οἷς ἂν  
ἐκ τῶν σφετέρων τεχνῶν ἔχοιεν δεξιοῦντο, οἱ δὲ τοῖς λό-  
15 γοις κεκοσμημένοι μὴ τοὺς σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐταίρους τὸν ἐκόντα  
τρόπον τοῖς ἐκ τούτων ἀμείβονται, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκ τῆς αὐ-  
τῆς τῶν λόγων ἐταιρείας τυγχάνοντας καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ  
καλοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρασχόντας. Ἀλλ' δεῖν ἔγνω τῇ σῇ χρηστῇ  
τύχῃ θαρρήσας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ προσῆκον χωρεῖν καὶ οἷς  
20 ἠρξω σύ γε τὰς τῆς φιλίας αἰτίας διδόναι, τούτοις καὶ  
ἡμεῖς ἐς μέγα τι ταύτην ἀνάπτειν φήθημεν δεῖν, καὶ τοῖς  
λόγοις λόγους κινεῖν ἵν' ὥς ἐκ μικροῦ σπινθήρος πυρσὸν  
τινα τούτων ἀνάψοιμεν. Εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς  
λόγοι τῇ τέχνῃ τὸ εἰκὸς ἀποσώζοιεν τῇ σῇ χρηστῇ φιλίᾳ  
25 χάρις, ἣ δὴ τεθαρρηκότες ἡμεῖς οὕτω τούτους ὑφαίνειν  
πεῖρώμεθα. Εἰ δὲ ταύτη φανεῖν ἀπάδοντες, ἐμοὶ μὲν  
συγγνώμη ὥς κακῶς ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τυραννηθέντι καὶ τοὺς  
λόγους καθάπερ προὔφην βιαίως προσπολέσαντι, τῇ μελαί-  
νῃ δὲ γε τύχῃ τὸ πᾶν τῆς αἰτίας ἐπιγραπτέον τοσοῦτον  
30 καθ' ἡμᾶς ἰσχυράσθαι, ὥς μὴ μόνον ἡμῖν ἐς δεῦρο τῆς ἡμέ-  
ρας Ἰλιάδα φῆναι κακῶν διαθεῖναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς λόγους  
αὐτοὺς οἷς ἐκ παίδων συνετεθράμμεθα ὥς πτερόεντα καθ'  
Ὅμηρον ἀποβεβληκέναι παρασκευάσαι βιαιῶς.

1 τῷ αὐτῷ cod. 7 cf. *Homerum, Iliad.*, 19, 302. 30 *Demosthenes, De falsa legat.*, 148 (387); *Diogenes, Prov.*, 2, 93: *Corpus Pseudoepigrammorum Graecorum*, edd. E. L. a Leutsch et F. G. Schneidewin, 2 vv. (Göttingen, 1839-51), 2, 34, et alibi. 31 cf. *Homerum, passim*.

Οὐχὶ τὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων γραμμάτων κάλλος, ὃ βέλτιστε, τὸν τοῦ κάλλους ἐργάτην, ἑμαυτὸν δὴ λέγων, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν οἷς ἐπέσταλκας εἰρηκας, συκοφάντην ἀπέφηνεν, ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ χρυσοῦ γένους σειρά ἧς ἐξηγητὴς μὲν Ἡσίοδος ὁ σοφός, αὐτὸς δὲ διάδοχος εἴης, ὑπ' εὐγνώμοσύνης ἡμῖν συκοφαντίας ἔγκλημα περιέθηκεν. Καὶ ὡς ἐκ τοῦ χρυσοῦ καταγόμενος γένους τὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων γραμμάτων ἁρμονίαν σεμνύνειν βουλόμενος τὸν ἐκδεδωκότα συκοφάντην ἐκάλεσας. Καί με σοφίζεσθαι φῆς μεταβεβλήσθαι φάσκοντα πρὸς ἀήθη τινα καὶ βάρβαρον γλώτταν, | οἷα πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον τοιούτοις ἐνδiciaιτῶμενον καὶ μετ' εἰρωνείας τῇ ῥητορείᾳ χρώμενον, οὕτω μᾶλλον τὸ τῶν λόγων ἐπιδείκνυσθαι κάλλος καὶ τὴν ἐν τούτοις ἰσχὺν ἀπάτη σοφιστικῇ συγκρύπτειν δῆθεν πειρώμενος, οὕτω ταύτην μᾶλλον ἐξαίρειν τῷ μηδέν τι παραβεβλάσθαι τῇ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀγροικίᾳ δοκεῖν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῆς παροιμίας προφέρων ἐμοί, τοῖς ἑμαυτοῦ πτεροῖς ἀλίσκεσθαι ἰσχυρίζη, οἷς τε ἡλάσται δεδείγμεθα καὶ οἷς τοῖς γε ἡμῖν πεπλασμένοις ἥκιστα συνηγοροῦσαν καὶ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀλήθειαν ἴσχομεν. Εἴτα καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ γλώττης φέρειν προστίθης, καὶ ἀμφω κατ' ἐκεῖνον, καὶ λέγειν εἰς κάλλος καὶ ῥητορεύειν δύνασθαι διατείνη, καὶ ἕτερον ἄττα πλεῖστα χαρίζη. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἡμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ χρυσοῦ καρπούμεθα γένους, ἥκιστα προσ-  
10  
122<sup>v</sup> ἦκοντες ἀξιούσθαι τοιούτων, καὶ γλώττης ἀπολαύομεν φιλεῖν εἰδυίας μετ' εὐφημίας καὶ τὰ μικρὰ τῶν φίλων δοκοῦντα. Τὰς δ' ἀμοιβὰς εἴη διδοὺς ὁ τῶν καλῶν χορηγός. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὐδεπώποτε περὶ ἡμῶν ἐφρονήσαμεν μέγα, οὐδὲ ῥητορικοὺς τοὺς ἡμετέρους νενομίκαμεν λόγους, ἀλλ' ὀλίγου τοιούτοις τιμῶμεν. Εἰ δ' αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ χρυσοῦ καταγόμενος γένους τοσοῦτου κρίνεις ἀξίους καὶ χαλκοὺς  
20  
30  
35  
δυνάτας χρυσὸν περιτῆκεν ἐγνώκεις, σοὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῇ σῇ φύσει δοτέον, τοιαύτη περὶ τὰ καλὰ πεφυκυῖα ὡς καὶ τὸν Ὀμήρου θεοσίτην τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης κάλλει κοσμεῖν βεβουλήσθαι.

1 τῷ αὐτῷ cod. 7 ἔγκλημα cod. 5 Hesiodos, *Opera et dies*, 109.  
17 Aeschylus, *Myrmidones*, fragm. 63 (139); Aristophanes, *Aves*, 808.  
31 cf. Homerum, *Iliad.*, 6, 236; Platonem, *Convivium*, 219a.  
34 cf. Homerum, *Iliad.*, 2, 212, ss.

Εἰκότως μοι δοκεῖς τὴν κλῆσιν ἐσχηκέναι τοῦ Πόθου· δυοῖν γὰρ ὄντοι τοῦ τε ποθεῖν καὶ ποθεῖσθαι καὶ τοῖν δυοῖν αὐτὸς αἵτιος γίγνη. Ποθεῖς μὲν γὰρ πάντας οἷς  
5  
10  
15  
πρόσεστι τὰ βελτίω καὶ οἷς ἔργον τὸ τοῖς λόγοις διὰ βίου συνεῖναι. Ποθῇ δ' ὑπ' ἐκείνων οὐχ ἥττον ὅτι γε μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον οὐ ποθεῖν αὐτὸς τούτους ἐπεύγη. Τὸ γὰρ ποθεῖν αἰεὶ φθάνων τὸ ποθεῖσθαι, διὰ τοῦτό σοι καὶ πλεον προσήκει. Ὁ γὰρ τὰς αἰτίας αἰεὶ διδοὺς τῶν καλῶν καὶ πρῶτος ἀρξάμενος τάγαθου οὐ τῶν ἴσων μόνον τιμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτι μειζόνων τῶν ἀντιδόσεων ἀξιούσθαι χρεών. Εἰ τοίνυν τοῦ τε ποθεῖν αὐτὸς ἄρχη καὶ τοῦ γε ποθεῖσθαι μᾶλλον, καὶ τοῦδ' αἵτιος γίγνη, ἀληθῶς ἄρα καὶ τοῖν δυοῖν αὐτὸς αἵτιος εἴης. Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, πρεπ-  
15  
όντως ἄρα καὶ Πόθος ἐκλήθη.

Οἷς ἔδρασας ἔδειξας πολλῷ βέλτιον εἶναι δρᾶν σιγῇ τὰ καλὰ ἢ γλώττῃ χρώμενον δαψιλεῖ τῶν ἔργων μακρὰν ἀφε-  
5  
123  
10  
15  
σπάναι. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οἱ πάλαι σοφοὶ διὰ θαύματος ἤγον, ἀπανταχῇ τὸ πράττειν τὰ καλὰ τοῦ λέγειν βέλτιον εἶναι ἰσχυρίζόμενοι. | Σὺ δὲ τοῦ λέγειν ἄλλοις ἀφείς, οἷα τρόφιμος ὦν ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τὸ πράττειν ἐχώρησας, προὔργου τὸ προκρίμενον ἐκείνοις ποιούμενος. Δυοῖν γὰρ ὄντοι τοῦ τε πράττειν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τοῦ λέγειν ὁμοίως, οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐν τῷ κατορθοῦσθαι τούτων· ἐκότερον καὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους ἴσους καρποῦσθαι συμβαίνει. Ἀλλ' εἰ τοῦ μὲν πρώτου κατορθουμένου σύρροιά τις εὐθὺς ἐπαίνων κινεῖται καὶ κατὰ πλῆθος ἀδόκιμα χωρεῖ τὰ καλὰ, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν ἔτι περὶ θατέρου γένοιτο λόγος μὴ γεγονότος καὶ μὴ παρόντος. Ἀλλ' ἀπόντος ἐκείνου πρὸς πᾶν περιίσταται τούναντίον, καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν σύμπαν ἀναιρεῖται τὸ τῶν ἐπαίνων.

Τοὺς γὰρ λόγους ἐρήμους ὄντας πραγμάτων κενούς φησι Δημοσθένης. Τῶν δύο τοίνυν αὐτὸς τὸ βέλτιον εἶλου καὶ ὁ τὸν ἐπαινον εὐθὺς ἐπισπάται, καὶ μὴ προβάντος  
 20 θατέρου, καὶ σιγῇ δρῶν τὰ καλὰ οὐδ' ἡμᾶς ἐς λήθης θυ-  
 θοὺς καὶ κρυπτήρας ἔρριψας σιωπῶντας, ἀλλ' ἐμνήσθης καινότερον τρόπον, οὐ μᾶλλον γε εἰπὼν ἢ φροντίσας. Καὶ  
 25 τὴν Πυθαγόρειον σιγὴν ἐς δεῦρο τῆς ἡμέρας ἡμῶν ἐλομέν-  
 ων, διὰ τὰς ἀεὶ παραπιπτούσας ἡμῖν τοῦ καιροῦ δυσχερ-  
 είας, αὐτὸς λέλυκας τὴν ταχίστην οἷς ἔργῳ δέδειχας.  
 "Ὅπως δεῖ φροντίζειν τῶν φίλων καὶ φίλων φιλεῖν μὲν  
 γνησίως ἐς τὰ μάλιστα εἰδότην, αἰδοῖ δὲ πλειοστὴν κατεχ-  
 ομένων, καὶ τὸ φορτικὸν παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον φεύγειν ἐν  
 30 σπουδῇ ποιουμένων. "Α γὰρ αὐτὸς φύσεώς τε βελτίστης  
 καὶ γνώμης τυχὼν ἀγαθῆς μετὰ γε τοῦ σιγᾶν δρᾶν ἐπέειγνεν  
 πρὸς οὓς ἐρωτικῶς διατίθηται, ταῦθ' ἡμᾶς τὴν τε χεῖρα καὶ  
 τὴν γλῶττιαν ἀναγκάζει κινεῖν, καὶ τὸν σιγῶντα μὲν,  
 35 δρῶντα δὲ τὰ χρηστὰ πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς σιγᾶν αἰρουμένους  
 πείθει λόγοις ἀμείβεσθαι δεξιότις, καὶ ὡς ἀπ' ὄρους ὑψ-  
 ίστου τινὸς τρανῇ τῇ φωνῇ διαγγέλλειν πρὸς πάντας ὅτι  
 τὰ τὸν ἡμέτερον βίον ἐξ ἀρχῆς φιλοτίμως κοσμοῦντα, ἤδη  
 πρὸ χρόνων τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βδελυρίᾳ κρυβέντα, νῦν αὖ-  
 θις ἀνανεοῦται λαμπρῶς παρὰ φίλου νέου τε καὶ καλοῦ.

## 7.

Τῷ Γεμιστῷ καὶ Ἀθηνοδῶρῳ

ζ'

Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδὲν οὕτως ἡδύ γε δοκεῖ ὡς τὸ παρὰ φίλ-  
 ων φίλων ἐπαίνους ἀκηκοέναι καὶ λαμπρὰ διηγήματα, καὶ  
 5 χαίρω τούτοις μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ μοί τις τοὺς θρυλουμένους ἐν  
 Αἰγύπτῳ νομοὺς ἐδίδου συνθεῖς. Τοῖς δ' ἀσμένως ἡμῖν  
 διηγούμενοις τὰ τῶν φίλων καλὰ οὐδὲν ἂν βέλτιον γεν-  
 ἔσθαι ποτέ· τοῦτο μὲν ὅτι φιλοτίμως ἄγαν περὶ τὰ καλὰ  
 123<sup>v</sup> σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔχειν δεικνύουσι καὶ τῶν καλῶν ἐνὶ μηδενί  
 10 ποτε ἐγκοτεῖν, ἀλλὰ | βασκανίας ἀνευ ἔδειν τὰ τῶν  
 ἄλλων ὡς ἑαυτῶν, οὐ μεῖζον οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐν μοίρᾳ καλοῦ  
 περιφανέστερον γένοιτο· τοῦτο δ' ὅτι καὶ τῶν καλῶν ἐπ-

Ep. 6: 17 Demosthenes, *Olynth.*, 2, 12. 23 cf. *Suidae Lexicon*  
 Π 3121 (ed. Adler, 4, 263).

Ep. 7: 5 Herodotus, 2, 4; *Suidae Lexicon*, N 478 (3, 477).

αίνεται γιγνόμενοι, οἷον εἴ τινες λαμπροὶ καθίστανται  
 κήρυκες μικροῦ πάντας διερεθίζοντες καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν  
 15 καλῶν ἐπίδοσιν ὀλαις ῥοπαῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπαλείφοντες ὡς  
 ἐντεῦθεν συμμερίζεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους παραδόξως  
 δοκεῖν. Οἷς γὰρ θαυμάζειν τὰ τῶν ἄλλων προήρηται,  
 τούτοις οὐδὲν ἥττον σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς τοὺς ἐπαίνους ἐν-  
 τάττουσι καὶ κοσμοῦντες ἀντικοσμούμενοι φαίνονται.

"Ἀμφω τοίνυν διὰ θαύματος ἄγων αὐτὸς μακαρίζω  
 20 μὲν ὑμᾶς τῆς χρηστῆς πολιτείας, ἐπαινῶ δ' αὖ τοὺς  
 ταύτην αἰρουμένους θαυμάζειν καὶ κοινωνοὺς ὑμῖν τοῦ  
 καλοῦ γιγνομένους οἷς ἐπαινεῖν αἰροῦνται τὸν ὑμέτερον  
 βίον. Κατὰ γὰρ πλῆθος δρῶντες τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους ἐ-  
 25 κεῖθεν, ἐκλεγόμενοι τοὺς βελτίους πυνθανόμεθα περὶ  
 τῶν ὑμετέρων συχνῶς, εἰ καλῶς ταῦτα σὺν γε θεῷ καὶ  
 μετ' ἐπιφόρου πνεύματος τῆς λαμπρᾶς τύχης χωροῖν.  
 Πάντων δ' ὁμοῦ τὰ καλὰ λεγόντων ὁμοίως καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ μι-  
 30 ᾶς γλώττης· νῦν μὲν ὅπως ἔχετε συμπνοίας τε καὶ συμ-  
 φυίας ἄδοντες, ὡς μίαν μὲν δοκεῖν εἶναι ψυχὴν, δύο δὲ  
 τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνης κινούμενα, νῦν δ' ὅπως ἐσπουδακότες  
 εἴητε περὶ τοὺς λόγους διατεινομένων, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν  
 35 τοσοῦτῳ βαρβάρου γλώττης πελάγει, καὶ νῦν μὲν ὅπως  
 διὰ σπουδῆς πεποίησθε τοὺς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας λόγους, καὶ  
 ταῦτ' ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀσεβείας πυθμένι, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα καὶ τὸ  
 40 τῆς εὐσεβείας κράτος ὑμῖν προσήκει παρρησιάζεσθαι, νῦν  
 δ' ὅπως ὁμοῦ πάντας σχεδὸν τοὺς ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ τὴν κλη-  
 σιν ἐσχηκότας καὶ δεομένους ἐν καιρῷ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν  
 βοηθείας εὖ ποιεῖν προτεθύμησθε καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν ἐκ  
 45 θεοῦ δεδομένων ὑμῖν ἀγαθῶν ἀποστερεῖν. Χαίρομεν,  
 ἡδόμεθα, τῷ χεῖρε μάλα κροτοῦμεν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς, ἡμῶν αὐ-  
 τῶν καὶ οὐχ ἑτέρων τοὺς ἐπαίνους λογιζόμενοι. Εἰ γὰρ  
 "φίλος ἄλλος αὐτός", κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, εἰκότως ἂν  
 καὶ τοὺς περὶ ὑμῶν ἐπαῖνους ἰδίους λογιζόμεθα. Ἡ-  
 50 μεῖς μὲν οὖν οὕτω προσφιλῶς περὶ ὑμᾶς διατιθέμενοι,  
 οὕτω δὴ καὶ χαίρομεν οἷς ὑμεῖς τετίμησθε. Θεὸς δ'  
 ὑμῖν μὲν αὖξην ἀεὶ διδοίη περὶ τὰ κάλλιστα, ἐμοὶ δ' αὖ  
 πρὸς τὸ ἐρρῶσθαι καὶ τὴν περὶ λόγους ἰσχύν, ἔν' ἔχοιμι  
 χρῆσθαι τούτοις θαρρύντως ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς καλῶς ποιῶν  
 ἐπαινεῖν τὰ τῶν φίλων καλὰ βεβούλημαι.

42 Aristoteles, *Ethica Nicomachea*, 9, 4, 5; cf. *Suidae Lexicon*,  
 Φ 412 (ed. Adler, 4, 732).

Καντακουζηνῷ τῷ θείῳ τοῦ βασιλέως η'

124 Τοῦ καλοῦ Χρυσολωρᾶ συνάμα τῷ χρηστῷ Βρυεννίῳ  
 5 διαπρεσβεύειν τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως μέλλοντος πρὸς τὸν βάρ-  
 βαρον, καὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς ἀγοῦσης κοινὸν καὶ ὡς ἡμᾶς | ἀ-  
 10 φιγμένον, πολλὰ μὲν ἡμῖν ἐπῆρει χαρὰ τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρός  
 διὰ χρόνου συνουσίας ὡς ἐρμαίου τινὸς ἐξαπίνης τετυχ-  
 15 χῆν ῥέοντος ἐκείνου τῷ πόθῳ καὶ τῶν σῶν ἐπιμελοῦς ἐπ-  
 20 αιντέτου παρ' ὅλην ἡμῖν γιγνομένου τὴν ὁμιλίαν. Ἐν  
 ὅσῳ δέ γε τοὺς ἐπαίνους ἐκίνει τῇ ῥύμῃ τῆς γλώττης,  
 συνιστᾶν βουλόμενος τουτουσὶ πολλαχόθεν τοῖς σοῖς κα-  
 25 λοῖς προσετίθει, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐμῶν σε μεμνησθαι καὶ φι-  
 λεῖν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀπόντες καὶ τῶν αὐτῷ σοι συνισταμένων  
 30 ἐνὸς μηδενὸς ἐλάττους παρὰ σοῦ νενομίσθαι, τεκμήριον  
 ἐναργὲς πάντως καὶ τοῦτο τῆς σῆς χρηστῆς παριστᾶν  
 γνώμης. Ὁ γὰρ τοὺς πόρρω φιλεῖν διὰ τι χρηστὸν ἡρ-  
 35 ημένους σχολῇ γ' ἂν ὀλιγοροίη προὔργου ποιεῖσθαι τό γ'  
 ἔρωτικῶς διακείσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐγγυς καὶ φιλεῖσθαι ἀξ-  
 40 ίους. Ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ "γόνυ κνήμης ἔγγιον" τῆς παροιμ-  
 45 ίας ἡκηκόειμεν διδασκούσης.  
 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἡμῖν ὁ καλὸς Χρυσολωρᾶς περὶ σοῦ  
 50 τε καὶ τῶν σῶν διήγγελλε κατεσπουδασμένως. Ἐγὼ δὲ  
 τῆς μὲν πλοκῆς τῶν ἐπαίνων ἐμακάριζόν γε τὸν ἄνδρα,  
 καὶ πολλοῖς ἐπειρώμην σεμνύνειν τοῖς λόγοις. Οὐδὲ γὰρ  
 55 ἦν εἰκὸς τὸ οὕτως παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιτυχᾶν ἐπαίνων, ἀλλ'  
 εἴπερ ἦν ἐφικτόν μοι καὶ τὸ τοῦ Βάττου σίλπιον ἐσχη-  
 κέναι, οὐδ' ἐκείνου γ' ἂν ἐφεισάμην φιλοτιμήσασθαι  
 60 τάνδρ' μετ' εὐγνωμοσύνης, τοσαύτην ἐκείνῳ δήπου τὴν  
 65 χάριν ὁμολογῶ γε εἰδέναι.  
 30 Σὲ δ' αὖθις ἀμείβεσθαι λόγοις ἐθέλων ὑπὲρ τε τῶν  
 καλῶν ὧν ἐσχέκεις καὶ τοῦ τῶν ἡμετέρων μεμνησθαι, ὑπὸ  
 35 τε τῆς ἀγροικίας ἢ συνεζηκῶς ὥφθην ἤδη τρισκαιδέκατον  
 40 ἔτος, καὶ τῆς συρφετώδους ταύτης καὶ μοχθήρας πολι-  
 45 τείας ἢ δὴ μοι συνοικεῖν ἄχρι καὶ ἐς τὴν τήμερον συν-

19 Aristoteles, *Ethica Nicomachea*, 9, 8, 2; *Suidae Lexicon*, Γ 383 (ed. Adler, 1, 535); Gregorii Cypr., *Proverbia*, 2, 50; *Corpus Paroimogr. graec.*, 2, 106. 26 Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 925; *Suidae Lexicon*, Β 187 (ed. Adler, 2, 462); Macarii, *Proverbia*, 2, 71; *Corpus Paroimogr. graec.*, 2, 150.

35 ηνέχθη, ἔτι τε καὶ τοῦ τῶν βίβλων ἀπασῶν μακρὰν ἀπικ-  
 40 ῖσθαι - τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἀπολωλέκαμεν ἀντόσω ἐπ' ἀλλήλους  
 τραπέντες καὶ τὰ ἀλλήλων ὡς ἀλλοφύλων ἀφειδῶς διαρπά-  
 ζοντες, τὰς δ' οἰκτρῶς ἄγαν τῇ ληστρικῇ καὶ συνεχεῖ  
 45 τῶν τριήρων ἐφόδῳ τῆδε ἐζημιώμεθα - ὑπὸ γοῦν τῶν αἰτ-  
 50 τοῦ γε ἀπτικίζειν μακρὰν ἀμεσχοινομένοι, οὐκ ἔχομεν  
 χρῆσθαι τῇ γραφίδι θαρρούντως ὥστε τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἀμείβ-  
 55 εσθαι φίλους τοῖς καθήκουσι λόγοις καὶ κοσμεῖν τὰ γι-  
 γνόμενα. Ὅθεν καὶ δέει τοῦ παραληρεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τι τῶν  
 60 εἰκότων δόξαι λέγειν τοῖς φίλοις, τὸ σιγᾶν πρὸς πάν-  
 65 τας εἰλόμην, βέλτιον τοῦτ' εἶναι νομίσας ἢ λέγειν  
 προκρίνας τὰς τε τῶν φίλων ἀκοὰς ἀποκναίειν καὶ τῇ  
 124<sup>v</sup> πατρίδι πολλὴν προξενεῖν τὴν αἰσχύνην. Ἦι δὴ καὶ |  
 50 χάριτας ὅτι πλείστας τε καὶ μεγίστας ὀφείλω ὧν τέ με  
 ἤνεγκε χάριν καὶ ὧν ἔθρεψεν ἐπιμελῶς, καὶ ὧν ἐπαίδευ-  
 55 σεν ἱκανῶς καὶ λόγοις ἐκόσμησεν ἐκ νέου εὐθύς, εἰ καὶ  
 ὁ μακρὸς ὕστερον χρόνος ῥέων ταῖς ἀλληλοδιαδόχοις  
 συμφοραῖς πανταχόθεν κατεργαζόμενος ἡμᾶς ἐκμυζεῖν πυ-  
 60 ρῶτο καὶ τὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων ἀκμὴν ἀμβλύνειν ἐς ἀ-  
 55 εἰ σχεδὸν μηχανῶτο. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς καθ'  
 ἡμᾶς σωφρόνως γε ὡς οἶσθα βεβουλεῦσθαι δέδοικται.  
 60 Ἄλλ' ὡς ἔοικε βίαιόν τι καὶ τυραννικὸν ἢ φιλία, καὶ  
 65 πείθειν οἶδε λύειν ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ τὰς συνθήκας. Τὸ γὰρ  
 πρὸς σε φίλτρον πέπεικεν ἡμᾶς τυραννικώτερον τρόπον  
 τὴν τε χεῖρα καὶ τὴν γλώττην κενιηκέναι καὶ τὰ πρὶν  
 κενυρώμενα τρέψαι πρὸς τούναντίον, καὶ ἄδειν ἀθρόνος  
 δίκην τὰ τῶν φίλων μᾶλλον ἐλέσθαι ἢ σιγῶντας ὑπὸ δέ-  
 60 ους καθῆσθαι. Πλὴν οὐχ ὡς τῇ τῆς ἀθρόνου μουσικῇ  
 65 πρόσσεσι καὶ τὸ τέρπειν, ἀλλὰ τῷ γε ὀρθροῖους καὶ ἡμᾶς  
 κατ' ἐκείνην μελετᾶν ἄδειν χρηστὸν τι περὶ τῶν φίλων.

Τῷ Θεσσαλονίκῃς κῦρ Ἰσιδώρῳ θ'

5 Οὐδὲν καινὸν εἰ φαῦλος ὧν ἐν λόγοις αὐτὸς ἐθέλ-  
 οίμι τοῖς τῶν Μουσῶν ἐρασταῖς καὶ σοφία συζῆν αἰρου-  
 μένοις ἀνδράσι λόγοις τοῖς γε ἡμῖν δυνατοῖς ὁμιλεῖν,  
 5 καὶ τὴν γιγνομένην αὐτοῖς εὐνοιάν τε καὶ τιμὴν ἀποδι-  
 δόναι δικαίως· τοῦτο μὲν τῆς σοφίας χάριν ὑφ' ἧς κε-  
 κόσμηται, τοῦτο δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς, δι' ἣν ἄτε χρυσὸς ἢ  
 πῦρ αἰθόμενον, κατὰ Πίνδαρον, καὶ ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τινὶ

καθήμενοι διαπρέπουσι. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἐλάττω μοῖραν  
 10 ἐν λόγοις ἐσχηκέναι τινά, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους οὐτε βλέπ-  
 τειν οὐθ' ὅλως ζημιοῦν οἶδε, μόνω δ' αὐτῷ γε δήπου  
 τὴν ζημίαν ἐπάγει. Τὸ δ' ἀγνώμονα γειγονέναι περὶ τὰ  
 τῶν ἄλλων καλὰ καὶ οἷς ἂν δύναίτο προσφέρεσθαι τοῖς  
 15 καλλίστοις, τούτων τελέως ὀλιγωρεῖν, χωρὶς τοῦ λίαν  
 κακῶς περὶ τὰ κάλλιστ' ἔχειν δοκεῖν, καὶ κοινῇ πᾶσιν  
 ὡς εἰπεῖν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς που λυμαίνεται.  
 Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν, ὅτι μὲν ἡκιστα τῆς τῶν λόγων ἀκ-  
 ριβείας ἐσμέν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ γ' ἐγγὺς εἶναι μᾶλλον μακρὰν  
 20 ἀφεστηκότες τυγχάνομεν, σύνισμεν· ὅτι δ' οὐ μετὰ τῶν  
 ἀγνωμόνων καὶ τῶν μὴ καλῶς περὶ τὰ κάλλιστα διακει-  
 μένων ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τάττειν ἐθέλομεν, οἷς νῦν ἐπιστελλο-  
 μεν δῆλον πάντως ὡς εὐδην τοῦτ' ἂν γίγνοιτο πᾶσιν.  
 ἔδει μὲν οὖν καὶ πρότερον τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι, καὶ τὴν  
 παλαιὰν ἐκείνην φιλίαν, ἣν ἐκ νέας ἐν μουσείοις συν-  
 125 26 εστησάμεθα | χρόνῳ κεκημηκυῖαν αὖθις ἀνανεώσασθαι. Ἐ-  
 πεὶ δ' ἡ τοῦ καιροῦ κακία κατὰ ροὴν φερομένη καὶ τοῖς  
 κακοῖς ἀεὶ κακὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐλάττωσι μείζονα προστιθεῖσα  
 πανήγυριν ἡμῖν κακῶν ἐπήγαγε, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο κεκώλ-  
 30 υκεν. Ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν προτέρων τὴν αἰσχροὴν τύχην αἰτι-  
 ατέον ὡς αἰτίαν ἐκείνων γιγνομένην, ὑπὲρ ὧν δ' αὖ νῦν  
 τὰ εἰκότα ποιεῖν ἐγνώμεν, τοῖς λόγοις τὴν χάριν ὀφλη-  
 τέον, οἷς ἡγμένους ἐπιλέλυσμαι μὲν τῶν ἀχρεῖ τοῦδε συν-  
 35 ενεχθέντων μοι μυρίων δεινῶν, τοῖς δὲ φίλοις ἐπιστελέ-  
 λειν μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἡρέθισμαι. Μηδ' ἐν μνήμῃς μέρει διὰ  
 περ ἔφην πρότερον ἐμοὶ γιγνόμενον, οὕτως ἡμῖν ὁ δαί-  
 μων ἀνωθεν ἐπὶ πολὺ βασκίνας, κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν εἰπεῖν,  
 40 "μυρὶ ἄλγε' ἔθηκεν". Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν δὴ πάντα τὸ  
 θεῶν εὐμενὲς ἡμῖν γενόμενον πρὸς τὸ βέλτιόν γε τρέψ-  
 ειεν. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τῶν τε κοινῶν λόγων χάριν ὧν πεπαι-  
 45 δεύμεθα τῆς τε χρηστῆς φιλίας ἣν εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων πάν-  
 των προσεστησάμεθα, σοῦ τε δὴ καὶ τῶν τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς  
 ἀγαλμάτων μάλα γε ἐρωτικῶς ἔχοντες, καὶ γράμμασιν οἷς  
 ἂν δυναίμεθα τοῦτο δηλοῦν ἐγνώκαμεν. Σὺ δὲ μὴ πρὸς  
 τὴν τῶν γραμμάτων ἀπίδων τέχνην καὶ τὴν φιλίαν παρ-  
 45 ἰδῆς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν τρόπον ἀποβλέψας τῶν δεδογμένων,  
 ἀνέχου μᾶλλον διὰ τοῦτον καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀμουσίαν.

10.

Ἡμεῖς μὲν μετρίως φρονοῦντες μετρίως ἀεὶ καὶ

37 Homerus, *Iliad.*, 1, 2.

τοῖς φίλοις προσφερόμεθα, καὶ χρώμεθα τῇ γλώττῃ πρὸς  
 5 αὐτούς, εἴτε παρόντες εἴτε ἀπόντες ὄντες τυγχάνοιεν,  
 οὐ μετὰ κωμῳδίας τε καὶ σκωμμάτων, ὡς αὐτὸς τοῦτο  
 πρὸς πολλοὺς χάριν ἡμετέρας ὕβρεως ἰσχυρίζη, ἀλλὰ με-  
 τὰ ἀστειοσύνης τε καὶ σεμνότητος. Εἰ δέ που καὶ γέλ-  
 10 οῖόν τι λέγειν δόξαιμι, ἢ μετρίου χάριν τοῦθ' ἡμῖν  
 γίγνεται, τῆς ὥρας οὕτω τοι σχεδιαζούσης αὐτό, ἢ πρὸς  
 τοὺς ἀξίους, ἴν' οὕτως εἴπω, χλεύης καὶ γέλωτος. Οὐδὲ  
 γὰρ εἰμὶ κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς εὐθήτης τε καὶ σκαιός, ὥστε  
 μὴ συνορᾶν ἔχειν μετ' ἀκριβείας τίς τε τῶν νουνεχῶν  
 15 εἴη καὶ τίς αὖθις τῶν ἡλιθίων, καὶ τίς μὲν τῶν λίαν  
 σεμνῶν καὶ πεπαιδευμένων, τίς δὲ τῶν ἄγαν σκαιῶν τε  
 καὶ ἀκολάστων, καὶ τίς μὲν τῶν χρηστῶν τρόπου καὶ  
 γνῶμης μετεσχηκόντων, τίς δὲ τῶν φαυλότητος ἀπάσης καὶ  
 20 κακίας γερόντων. Ἀλλ' εἴπερ τις ἄλλος ἐν γε τοῖς  
 τοιούτοις ἐξεταστικὸς ὢν, ἐγὼ ὁρῶ μὲν πάντας, σύνειμι  
 125 20 δ' οὐ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως. | ἀλλὰ σκοπῶν ἀκριβῶς ἐκάστου τε  
 φρόνημα καὶ τρόπον καὶ πολιτείαν διέλω τὴν γλώτταν  
 κατ' ἄμφω. Καὶ οἷς μὲν ἂν ἔπαινος καὶ εὐφημία προσή-  
 25 κοι τοῦτοις δίδωμι ταύτην μετ' εὐφημίας· οἷς δ' αὖθις  
 ἐκ τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν βδελυρίας ἔπεισι τούναντίον, τού-  
 τοις μέμφομαι μὲν τοῦ τρόπου καθ' ἡσυχίαν, ἐπέχω δ'  
 ὅμως ἐμαυτὸν αἰδοῖ τῆς τῶν σοφῶν νουθεσίας τοῦ χρησ-  
 30 θαι κατ' ἐκείνων οἷς μὲν ἐκεῖνοις προσήκει, πανούργ-  
 οῖς δὴ τισιν οὖσιν, ἡμῖν δ' ἡκισθ' ὅλως προσήκει, βί-  
 ον ἶσον ἐξ ἀρχῆς βιοῦν ἡρημένοις, καὶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ δέ-  
 35 καια τηρεῖν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου βεβουλημένοις. Ἡνίκα  
 δ' ἂν οὗτοι πρὸς τῷ μὴ καταδύεσθαι ὑπ' αἰσχύνης βδελ-  
 υρῶς βούλονται καὶ καθάπτεσθαι μου, τηνικαῦτα δεικνυ-  
 40 μι τούτοις τῷ περιόντι τῆς ἀληθείας οἶός τε - σὺν θεῷ  
 δ' εἰρήσθω - εἴην ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας λόγοις αὐτός,  
 καὶ μὴ δεῖν "πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν" μηδ' αἰρεῖσθαι  
 35 μάτην κατεξανίστασθαι τῶν κρειττόνων, καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς,  
 ὃ δὴ λέγεται, τὴν σελήνην καθέλκειν. Τοῦτο δέ γ'  
 ἡμῖν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς σοφοῖς συγκεχώρηται. Τὸ γὰρ τὴν  
 τῶν βδελυρῶν ἀνθρώπων διελέγχειν φαυλότητα ἶσον δύ-  
 40 νασθαί φασι τῷ ἐπαινεῖν ἐθέλειν τὴν τῶν βελτιόνων χρη-  
 σιτότητα. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ οἷον εἰπεῖν τὰς τῆς κακίας ρίζας  
 ἐκκόπτει καὶ οὐκ ἔα τὰ χεῖρω προβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω

30 Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, 6,1,35. 34 *Acta Apostolorum*, 26, 14;  
 Euripides, *Bacchae*, 795; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1624; Pindarus, *Pyth.*,  
 2,173; *et alibi*. 36 cf. Platonem, *Gorgias*, 513a; Zenobius, *Pro-  
 erbia*, 4,1: *Corpus Paroemiogr. graec.*, 1,84.

καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ συνεπεκτείνεσθαι, τὸ δ' αὖ παρασκευάζει  
 πρὸς μέγα τι χωρεῖν τῶν καλῶν τὴν ἐπίδοσιν. Οὐ τοίνυν  
 45 ὑβριστὰς φιλίας τοὺς τοιούτους κλητέον; ἀλλὰ στηλι-  
 τευτὰς ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν ἀφανιστὰς τῆς κακίας ὀνομαστέ-  
 ον, εἰ μὴ πού τις δι' ἀγροικίαν ἢ νοῦ κακοήθειαν ταῖς  
 ὀνομασίαις ἐναλλάξ χρήσαιοτο, καὶ τὴν μὲν φιλίαν κακί-  
 ιαν, τὴν δ' αὖ κακίαν φιλίαν, σκαιῶς τε καὶ κακῶς ὀν-  
 50 ομάσειεν.  
 Οὗτος μὲν ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἐμῆς πολιτείας, κὰν μυρ-  
 ιάκις διαπραγῶσιν οἱ τάναντία λέγοντες, καὶ φιλεῖν  
 οἶδα μάλα λαμπρῶς τοὺς φιλεῖσθαι ἀξιόους καὶ μισεῖν  
 τοὺς τὰ φαῦλα πράττοντας. Ἐπαινεῖν γινώσκω τοὺς  
 παιδεῖα καὶ συνέσει κεκοσμημένους καὶ μὴ τυραννεῖν  
 55 εἰδότας πικρῶς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ψέγειν δὲ τοὺς ὑφάλους  
 καὶ φθονεροὺς καὶ κακουργίᾳ πάσῃ συντεθρεμμένους καὶ,  
 ἔν' εἴποιμι τὸ τῆς παροιμίας προσφόρως, δίκην κυνῶν  
 λαιθάργων κρύβδην δάκνοντας τοὺς μηδὲν ἐπταικότας, καὶ  
 τοῦτ' ἔργον ἔχοντας προῖστάμενον πάντων, τὸ κακὸν τι  
 60 διὰ γλώττης ὑπὸ φθόνου συσκευάζειν λάθρα κατὰ τῶν  
 βελτιόνων. Οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰμὶ κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς δυοῖν ποδοῖν κό-  
 θορνος, οὐδ' Εὐρίπου δίκην ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι φέρομαι,  
 126 ὥστε νῦν μὲν μικροῦ λήμματος | <...> ὅπως τῆς <...> ἔ-  
 οίμην ἂν αὐτὸς <...> τῷ χορῷ τῶν τῷ ὄντι φίλων τε-  
 65 ταγμένους ...> δεῖκνυ σαυτὸν ἄλλον αὐτὸν εἶναι. Εἰ δὲ  
 προσωπεῖον περιβεβλημένος ... ἐπιφανὲς μὲν δοκεῖς  
 δῆθεν φιλεῖν, λεληθότως δὲ πῶς τονθορύζων, ἐπ<χει-  
 ρεῖς τινι> τρόπῳ διασύρειν τάμά, φθόνῳ τοῦ μὴ τὴν τῶν  
 λόγων ἐπιστήμην ὑγιῶς ἐξησκήσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ὁσφύος  
 70 μόνης ὅλην καθημένην ἔχειν δοκεῖν. Ἴσθε σαφῶς ὥς  
 ἡμᾶς μὲν οὐχὶ βλάβεις οὐτ' αὐτά, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἕτερός τις  
 τῶν ἀπάντων ἕως ἂν ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ κραταιὰ χεῖρ τὰ καθ' ἡ-  
 μᾶς πάντα φρουροίη· σαυτὸν δὲ κατ' ἄμφω τὰ μέγιστα  
 75 ζημιώσεις, ὅτι τε φίλον ἀναίτιον ἀδικεῖς καὶ ὅτι τὴν  
 σαυτοῦ γε ἐκὼν προδίδως τιμὴν προσκαίρου καὶ κενῆς  
 δόξης ἐπιθυμίᾳ.

11.

Τῷ Ὑίῳ τοῦ Οἰναιώτου

ια'

Ἄγαμαί σε τῆς εὐφροσύνης, οὐχ ἥττον δὲ γε καὶ τῆς

58 Zenobius, *Prov.*, 4,90: *Corpus Paroem. graec.* 1,109. 61 cf.  
 Xenophonem, *Hellenica*, 2,3,31. 62 Plato, *Phaedo*, 90c.

σπουδῆς ἢ περὶ τοὺς λόγους κέχρησαι. Ἡ δὲ σπουδὴ  
 5 συνδραμοῦσα τῇ εὐφροσύνῃ μέγιστόν τι ταῖς ἐπιστημαῖς καὶ  
 ταῖς τέχναις κράτος ἐναπεργάζονται. Πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ  
 αὐτὸς ἐν λόγοις μεγίστην λάβοις ἂν ἐξ ἁμφοῖν τὴν ἐπί-  
 δοσιν, τοῦτο μὲν τῆς εὐφροσύνης χάρις ἥς παρὰ τῆς φύσεως  
 κεκλήρωσαι, τοῦτο δὲ γε τῆς σπουδῆς ἥς περὶ τοὺς λό-  
 10 γους νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιδείκνυσαι; Ἡμεῖς μὲν  
 οὖν δι' ἅπερ ἔφημεν καὶ φιλοῦμεν καὶ ἐπαίνοισι τὰ σὰ  
 διδόμεν, οὐχ ἥττον δὲ γε τοῦ φιλεῖν καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς  
 συνεισφέρομεν. Ὡς γὰρ ἡμέτερόν σε παῖδα λογιζόμενοι  
 τὸν δυνατόν ἡμῖν τρόπον εὐχόμεθα πᾶν ὃ τι κάλλιστόν  
 15 σοι παρὰ θεοῦ δεδωρῆσθαι, κὰν τοῖς λόγοις γεγενῆσθαι  
 τῷ πάππῳ προσόμοιον. Καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν οὕτω σοῦ τε πέρι  
 καὶ τῶν σῶν εὐχόμεθα, σὺ δὲ κάλλιστα ἂν πάντως δρᾷ-  
 αις, εἰ γε δὴ τῶν ἔξ ἀρχῆς σοι περὶ τῶν λόγων δεδογ-  
 μένων ἁμφοῖν χεροῖν ἔχοιο τὸ τοῦ λόγου. Οὕτω γὰρ ἂν  
 20 αὐτὸς τε Μουσῶν μεστός γένοιτο καὶ τῶν τῆς Πιερίας  
 ἀπολαύσαις χαρίτων, ἡμεῖς τε τοὺς ἐπαίνους ἥκιστ' ἂν  
 τηνάλλως ἄλλους ἄλλοις ὑπὲρ σου συνείροντες φαινοί-  
 μεθα.

12.

Τῷ Κυδώνῃ

ιβ'

Οἱ μὲν χρηστοὶ τῶν φίλων οὐδ' ἂν πορρωτάτω γῆς  
 εἶεν τῶν ἑαυτῶν ἐταίρων ἐπιλήσμονες γίνονται. Οἱ δὲ  
 126<sup>v</sup> μὴ τοιοῦτοι τοὺς τρόπους ὄντες καὶ συνόντες ἀεὶ καὶ  
 6 συνιστάμενοι | <...> ἐξήρηται <...> χρημάτων νομίζω  
 καὶ <...> διείρισται ἥκιστα μοι πολλῶν γε δεήσει <...>  
 δεδηλωκέναι, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὰ τῶν καρδίων κρύφια συνειδώς  
 <...> ασόντως συνεπιστάμενος, ἐκεῖνος ἂν σοι παραστήσ-  
 10 ειεν ἀληθῶς τὴν τε τῆς <ἡ>μετέρας ψυχῆς διάθεσιν, καὶ  
 ὅπως εὐφώμως ἄγειν ἐς ἀεὶ διὰ σπουδῆς ποιῶμαι τὰ σά.  
 Ἐβουλόμην δὲ γε καὶ γράμμασι συχνοῖς τουτὶ παριστάν,  
 καὶ ὃ τῇ γλώττῃ δεικνύειν οὐκ εἶχον φιλοτίμως, φεύγων  
 τὸ φορτικὸν τοῦτο τοῦτοις ἀναπληροῦν, καὶ τῷ δίδῶναι  
 15 τε καὶ λαμβάνειν μεγίστην εἶχον ἂν καρποῦσθαι τὴν ἡδ-  
 ονήν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πονηρὸς Τέλχιν τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων καθ-  
 ἀπαξ βασικίνας πράγμασι, πάντ' ἄνω καὶ κάτω κυκᾶν  
 ἑσπούδακε, καὶ πολλήν τινα τὴν τῆς κακίας ὁμίχλην ἡ-  
 μῖν ἐπηνέγκεν, ὥς φιλονεικεῖναι μικροῦ καὶ τὸ κατὰ λει-  
 20 μμα τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν, τὸ μικρόν τε καὶ εὐτελές, παντε-  
 λῶς ἀφανίσαι, κἀντεῦθεν ἄλλα τε μυρία προβῆναι δεινὰ  
 παρεσκεύακε, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀλλήλοισι ἐπιστέλ-  
 λειν κεκώλυκεν. Ἠλγοῦμεν μὲν ὥς εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐφέρομεν δ'  
 οὖν οὐκ ἐθειλονται τῇ τῆς τύχης ἀνάγκῃ, βίᾳ πειθόμενοι.

25 Τοῦν γὰρ βασιλέειν ἐς ἄκρον ἐπὶ μεγίστῳ κακῷ τῶν Ῥω-  
 μαίων ἀντικαθισταμένοιιν ἀλλήλοιιν πάντα θορύβου καὶ  
 30 ταραχῆς ἦν μεστά, καὶ κυκεῶνος καὶ κλύδωνος, καὶ τὴν  
 Ῥωμαίων ἐπέκλυζε τὰ δεινὰ, τῆς ἐμφυλίου στάσεως δι-  
 κην φλογὸς ἀναρριπισθείσης, καὶ οὔτε τι βούλευμα ὑγι-  
 35 τῶν δεινῶν ἀποσόβησιν, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ἐκατέροιιν τοῦν  
 βασιλέειν τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν βουλευόμενοι καὶ τὰ γε σφί-  
 σιν αὐτοῖς αἰσχροὺς τιμὴν καὶ πλοῦτον ἀσελγῇ προξενήσ-  
 40 οντα, τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐς τοῦτο τύχης συνήλασαν. Ἀφ'  
 οὗ δὴ καὶ πλείστοι τιμῆς μὲν μεγίστης παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν  
 45 ἐτετυχήκεσαν, πλούτου δ' αὖ ἀδίκου καὶ παραλογωτάτου  
 κύριοι καθειστήκεσαν. Ἐν γὰρ διχοστασίᾳ φασίν, ὃ  
 μὲν πάγκακος τυγχάνει τιμῆς, ὃ δὲ καὶ ὀποσοῦν μετε-  
 50 σχηκῶς τοῦ βελτίονος θρήνων ἀξία πάσχει καὶ τραγικῶν  
 ἐμπύπλῃται συμφορῶν. Ὁ δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖ-  
 127 τῆς σῆς ἡδίστης συνουσίας | <...> λᾶται πα<...> ὑποψία  
 δὲ καὶ δ<...> τις δῆπουθεν εἰσενήνκεται καὶ <...>  
 πάντα ὡς εἰκὸς παρᾶσκεύακε. Τὸ γοῦν τοῖς προει<μένους  
 45 ...> γράμμασι καὶ δίκαιόν μοι δέδοκται. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ  
 δέος γε τοῦ λοιπ<οῦ> ...> θείημεν ἐπιστέλλοντες. Οὐκοῦν  
 ἡμεῖς μὲν ὡς ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς τὴν προτέραν φιλι<αν> ἐκείνην,  
 ἥδη τῷ χρόνῳ κεκημηκυῖαν, ἀνανεοῦν βουλόμενοι, πρῶτοι  
 καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γράφειν πεποιήκαμεν, καὶ τὴν χεῖρα  
 καὶ τὴν γλώτταν, οἶονεῖ τῶν δεσμῶν ἀπαλλαγεῖσαν, ἐπὶ  
 50 τὸ λέγειν κεκινήκαμεν; Σὺ δ', ὦ βέλτιστε, τὰ παρ'  
 ἡμῶν δεξάμενος γράμματα, διὰ χρόνου τὴν ἡμετέραν ψυ-  
 χὴν ἀντεπιστείλας εὐφρανον, καὶ τῶν τῆς σῆς γλώττης  
 ἰύγγων ἐμπλήσων, καὶ ὧν ἐκ πολλοῦ γε ἐστερήμεθα, τού-  
 των κατακορεῖς ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι παρᾶσκεύασον.

13.

Τῷ Βασιλεῦ

ΙΥ'

Κράτιστε Βασιλεῦ. Εἰ μὲν οὖν πονήρως διέκειτό  
 μοι τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὸς ἐβουλόμην, ῥᾶν τε δὴ λέγω  
 καὶ πρὸς τὴν πορείαν εὐκίνητον, μηδὲν μελλήσας ἡλαυν-  
 5 ον ἂν εὐθὺς τὴν πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον φέρουσαν, καὶ εἰχό-  
 μην ταύτης ἀπρίξ, ὥσπερ τις Λυδὸς εἰς πεδίον, τὸ τοῦ

6 Libanius, *epist.*, 617,2; 1183,1; 1426,6; Michael Apost., *Prov.*,  
 10,81: *Corpus Patoem. graec.*, 2, 509.

λόγου γε εἰπεῖν, προκαλούμενος. Τοῦτο μὲν ἵνα τῇ σῇ  
 χρυσῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ πάντ' ἐμοὶ σεβασμῇ τὴν ὀφειλομένην  
 10 μοι προσκύνησιν ἀποδώσω γνησίως, καὶ τὸν ἐμφωλεύοντά  
 μοι τῇ ψυχῇ πόθον ἀποπληρώσω. Τοῦτο γάρ μοι τὸ λίαν  
 ποθεῖνδον καὶ ἐπέραστον, καὶ ὃ νύκτας ὅλας καὶ ἡμέρας  
 κατὰ νοῦν ἀνελίσσω. Τοῦτο δ' ἵνα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν  
 καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς οἰκίας σὺν γε θεῷ τὰ δέοντα βουλευσάμεν-  
 15 ος, δρᾶσαιμι τὰ βελτίω καὶ ἃ ποιεῖν εἰκὸς τοῖς ὀρθῶς  
 περὶ τῶν δέοντων βεβουλευμένοις. Εὐκτιδὸν οὖν ἦν ἂν ἐ-  
 μοί, θειότατε βασιλεῦ, εἴ γε δὴ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς μετ' εὐκληρί-  
 20 ας ἐχώρει καὶ θαυσιλῶς εἰπεῖν τῆς ῥαστώνης. Οὕτω γὰρ  
 ἂν ἡμῖν ἐξείργαστο τάχιστα τὸ συμφέρον, καὶ τὸ τὴν  
 ὀνησιν λαμπρὰν προξενήσον, παντὸς προσάντους ἀπόντος.  
 25 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔτι μοι τὸ σῶμα δυσχερῶς ἔχον καὶ τὰ τοῦτου  
 μέρη τλαιπῶρως ἔχειν ἐξ ἀνάγκης συμβαίνει, καὶ μήτε  
 127 τὸν ἵππον ἀναβαίνειν εὐπετῶς ἔχειν παρᾶσκευάζει | <..  
 >σχεῖν δ' <...> κατὰ δίκην ταύτην <...> ὡ βασιλεὺς  
 25 ἄχρι καὶ ἐς τῆμερον <...> ἐν ἐπὶ βραχὺ γοῦν ἀναπνεῦσαι  
 δύνασθαι <...> βι<αίαις> τε καὶ συνεχέσι προσβολαῖς τῶν  
 δεινῶν καὶ ταῖς παραλόγοις καὶ ἀλλεπαλλήλοις τῶν βασ-  
 κάνων εἰπεῖν κακουργίαις, τὰ δ' ἐφεξῆς τῷ θεῷ πάντως  
 ἐπιτρεπτόν, τῷ δυναμένῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον  
 30 μετασκευάζειν ῥαδίως, καὶ ᾧ τῶν ἐμῶν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι μελ-  
 ῆσει, τῇ συνήθει φιλανθρωπίᾳ χρωμένῳ, εἰ καὶ ἐγὼ δοῦ-  
 λος ἀγνώμων περὶ τὸν εὐεργέτην φανείς καὶ κακῶς δια-  
 τιθεῖς περὶ τὰ 'κείνου μακρὰν ἀεὶ γιγνοίμην ἐκείνου.  
 35 Ὅθεν δὴ καὶ συμπίπτει μοι τὰ δεινὰ καθ' ἐκάστην, δί-  
 κην νιφάδων, τῆς ἐκείνου βοηθείας ἐστερημένῳ. Ἴδὼν  
 ἀπάντων αὐθις ἀπαλλαγέντες τῇ ἐκείνου συνάρσει πρὸς  
 τὴν ἀμείνω κατασταίημεν μοίραν, καὶ τύχοιμεν ἀντὶ τῶν  
 ἀμετρήτων κακῶν εὐκληρίας εἰς τι νοσοῦν ἐν τῷ βίῳ, ὅφ'  
 ὧν αἶ' τε προκοπαὶ καὶ τιμαὶ προβαίνουσι τοῖς ἀξίοις  
 ἀξίως. |

14.

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<...> οὐκ οἶδά ποτε <...> προσῆκον ἐπειδὴ τοῦτ'  
 ἐκα<...> ἐργάσαι μὲν οὕτω καλλίστην ἐπιστολὴν ὡς μὴ  
 <...> βουλόμενος θαυμάζειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ πάντων πάντας  
 χείρους <...> σμακοὺς ταύτῃ ἐφρόντισεν <...>.



## Translation

Letters of the most wise Theodore Potamios

## 1.

To Kydones.

When it came to giving speeches, I used to think that I was on the same level as the crows, and that whenever I opened my mouth it would only annoy and pain my audience instead of presenting it with some sort of melodious words it might enjoy. But when you, a wise man, announced your verdict that it was not the sound of the crows that described my speech, but rather that of the swans, a decision, incidentally, which most knowledgable persons will surely have to accept, could I not have loudly proclaimed that this vote was cast by the foremost authority on Hellenic literature? Of course, this would not be proper. Instead, perhaps I should pray to God that my writings might always meet your standards, that they might improve and become better and better, that they might never in any way fall short of those which have been honored by your wise judgment, and that they might never receive the black ballot of disapproval.

Envious people, I must admit, would dearly love to have that happen to me. At the same time, though, since it is you who form such judgments about me and speak so highly of my work, this completely transforms the work itself into something sound. The very fact that you cast a vote is the height of thought and utterance. As for those babblers who attempt to contradict your views on the subject, it is time for them to amend their ways. But, if they do not wish to do so, they make it clear that they deliberately choose to cling to their wickedness and that they are wrong in opposing your judgment. Unless they change, their jealousy will prove their undoing. But, as you can imagine, we are not much concerned about those people, since we have obtained the greatest prize: from a man of your wisdom we have earned praise.

## 2.

To Pothos.

We should be grateful to the emperors who have finally put an end to their differences with one another. They have also, at the last moment and just barely, freed us from the dark destiny which for so long a time now has been bringing ruin upon our race, no longer really a race or a people, but what has become a kind of remnant of a race,\* and such that one could not easily tell whether it formed part of a race or the vestige of a people. Now that beautiful peace has driven out all suspicion, and every fear has been expelled, friends, freed of anxiety, have begun to relax and write to one another. They are again able to reflect on their former friendship, to renew it after time had caused it to wither, and to make it bloom once more.

So it is with me, my best of friends. On receiving your letter a while ago, I recalled our ancient friendship and the time we spent as boys studying literature. My joy knew no bounds because, beyond my hopes, I obtained what I had been yearning for. As if it were an unexpected treasure, I chanced upon the most wonderful find, and I was so overcome by joy that words fail me. So great was the pleasure your writing gave us. Only one thing, though, made me sad, and that was your request for me to write something that would seem to flow from the fountains of the Muses. For the fountains of the Muses are nowhere near us, as you, my good friend, said in trying to be kind. There is absolutely nothing of a literary nature flowing here.

In addition to the other evils which the past ten years have inflicted on us and which have made us become like barbarians, there is, first of all, the fact that we have been living all this time among uncouth people and spending our days in places where no Muse or Hellenic culture has ever dwelt. Secondly, the outbreak of the civil wars deprived me of all my books, and I have been absolutely unable to apply myself to writing with any degree of accuracy or confidence, as though there were no longer any standards. But, at home wrapped up in my cloak, alone I converse with myself alone. I recalled those earlier studies of ours. Since fleeing my fatherland, I must admit, I have not acquired anything better. In fact, it was my lot to suffer the opposite. What I had liberally cultivated and gathered together from youth, now, on approaching

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\* Cf. *Genesis*, 45, 7.

old age, I have totally lost because of the harshness of fortune. I hesitate to mention the small and mean spirit of our rulers, which has been the real cause of all our suffering. For these reasons, then, it would be wrong to lay the blame on me if my writing should not live up to your expectations.

## 3.

To Pothos.

Well now, I have delayed so long that some other arbiter would have ordered me to repay my debt to you with interest. To make amends for putting off my reply, on which I have squandered a great many days, I would have to write one twice as lengthy. He would also say that, since I have been caught wronging a friend who is so attached to my words, I should not employ the proverbial pretense of Patroclus and lay the entire blame on the evil forces about us.\* Still, what may reasonably be ascribed to fortune, ascribe it to that, but, as far as myself and my writings are concerned, bear with me.

It seems strange to me that when men who have good political expertise wish to honor their closest friends, they can use that expertise to do so, whereas those who have been trained in fine writing may find themselves unable to use their skills to compose a proper reply to their own colleagues, those true companions of literature and getters of noble thoughts. I realized, however, that, encouraged by your excellent fortune, even I had to take the proper steps. Because of the way in which you made our friendship a reality, I felt obliged to employ the same means to make it flare up to great heights. I would use words to set words in motion so that, as from a small spark, we might light a great fire. If my writing, therefore, should still retain some semblance of skill, thanks are owed to your wonderful friendship.

Your friendship it is which encourages me as I attempt to weave these words together. But, if the notes seem to be out of tune here, my excuse is, first, that I have been cruelly tyrannized by fortune and, as I previous-

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\* see Homer, *Iliad*, 19, 302.

ly remarked, violence has made me lose my touch with words. But the ultimate cause must be ascribed to the dark destiny which has so strongly oppressed us. To this very day, it has not only inflicted an Iliad of evils,\* so to speak, on us, but it has also forced the words themselves with which we have been raised from childhood to fly away as though, according to Homer, they had wings.

## 4.

To Pothos.

Surely it is not the beauty of my letters, best of friends, which proves that the creator of that beauty, I mean myself, as you stated in your own letter, is a flatterer. Instead, it is the line of the golden race,<sup>+</sup> of which the wise Hesiod was the interpreter, with you perhaps as his successor, and which, with kind intentions, has laid on me the accusation of flattery. As though you were descended from the golden race and desirous of commending the harmony of my letters, you called their publisher a flatterer. You also claim that I am acting like a sophist and that I have turned to speaking in a strange and barbaric tongue, since I have been dwelling among people of that sort for a long time now, and that I am making use of rhetoric in appearance only. And so, it may be true that I am trying to hide the beauty and the power of words under sophisticated deceit and that I am even stressing it, since the rude natives here do not seem to affect it in any way. Furthermore, applying the words of the proverb to me, you claim that I have been hit by arrows tipped with my own feathers.<sup>°</sup> While it is clear that I have created something, you say that I am holding too tightly to a version of the truth which least pleads the cause of my creatures. Then you add that we bear Hermes on our tongue, and that this is so in two respects, speaking with beauty, so you maintain, and practicing rhetoric, and you have a great many other nice things to say. But these are gifts from the golden race to which I would not presume to lay the slightest claim.

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\* Proverbial expression found in Demosthenes, signifying an innumerable amount. <sup>+</sup> The first, somewhat Utopian, race of humans created by the gods; cf. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 109. <sup>°</sup> Aristophanes, *Birds*, 808.

We are happy to be able to give expression to our love and to speak well even of the lesser achievements of friends. May any recompense come from the provider of all good things. For our part, we never held a very high opinion of ourselves, nor have we regarded our writings as true works of rhetoric, but esteem them as of little account. If you, however, tracing your lineage from the golden race, judge them of so much worth, and though they are but bronze, you know how to gild them over, this must be attributed to your noble spirit which, as far as noble things are concerned, is capable of wanting to adorn even Homer's Thersites with the beauty of Aphrodite.\*

## 5.

[To Pothos.]

It strikes me as quite appropriate that you bear the name of Pothos, for two meanings are involved, to love and to be loved, and you are the cause of both. On the one hand, you love all those whose minds are fixed on higher things and who are concerned about going through life in the company of good writing. On the other hand, you are loved by those people no less, although you strive to love them even more in return. For you always love before being loved, which is all the more fitting for you. The person who always originates noble things and who has first started something good, esteems others not only as they esteem him, but also feels compelled to deem them worthy of even greater esteem in turn. If, therefore, it is you who begin both to love and, even more, to be loved, and you are the cause of this, it surely follows that you are the cause of both. If this is so, then you have fittingly been named Pothos.

## 6.

To Athenodoros.

By your actions you have shown that it is much better to do noble things in silence than to make use of an elo-

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\* *Iliad*, 2, 212 ff.

quent tongue, while refraining from action. Now, the wise men of old thought this was marvelous. They maintained that it was always better to do noble deeds than to talk about them. For your part, you leave the speaking to others and, as a pupil of those wise men, pay heed to their teaching and proceed to action.

Two things are involved: to do good deeds and to speak well, but they are not alike in their results. Each one happens to receive equal praise. Now, if the deeds are carried through, straightaway praises from all sides are stirred up, and usually the deeds are commemorated in noble words. But if there were no deeds to begin with, not a word would be said about either deeds or words. If deeds are missing, the situation is turned completely around and, so to speak, nothing at all is left of the praises. For Demosthenes says that words which are wanting in deeds are empty.\* Of the two, therefore, you have chosen the better for yourself and that which immediately wins praise, even though neither is clearly in evidence.

Doing noble deeds in silence you have not cast us into the depths and hiding places of forgetfulness and made us become silent. But you are remembered in a newer manner, in thought rather than in words. The never ending difficulties we face have overwhelmed us and kept us in a Pythagorean silence, but you have very quickly dissipated it by your actions. It is necessary to take thought for one's friends, including those who know how to love sincerely and in the highest degree, but who are held back by a powerful sense of shame and who consistently make a point of shunning what is common. This is the manner in which you, with your excellent nature and good mind, together with your silence, are anxious to act in dealing with those you love. This is the sort of thing which compels me to set hand and tongue in motion and gets me to compose a nice answer to that man who, while silent, performs the noblest deeds for those who have again chosen silence. From the highest mountain, I would like to proclaim in a clear voice to everyone that those qualities which have from the beginning added honor and beauty to my life, and which have been buried for years because of the beastly conduct of men, are now, once again, resurrected by a noble and a new friend.

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\* *Olynthiacs*, 2, 12.

## 7.

To Gemistos and Athenodoros.

Nothing strikes me as more pleasant than hearing friends praise and report good news about friends. I enjoy this more than if someone had brought together the famous provinces of Egypt and given them to me.\* There is nothing better than hearing the noble deeds of friends joyfully recounted. It shows that they are extremely well disposed towards what is noble. They are never jealous of anyone else's noble deeds, but without envy they sing the praises of others' deeds as their own. This is surely the greatest and most outstanding aspect of nobility. They are, moreover, praisers of noble deeds. It is as though some announcer with a pleasant voice were to step forth and start getting everyone worked up, encouraging every motion of the soul which would increase their dedication to noble ideals. The result is that unexpected praises are bestowed on everyone. To the degree that they choose to marvel at the deeds of others, they line up praises for themselves, and in honoring others they are honored in return. Both are wonderful, and I bless you for your excellent way of life. At the same time, I praise those who choose to marvel at it and who, by praising your way of life, also come to share with you in its noble qualities.

When I see people coming here I generally ask the ones I regard more highly all about you, whether things are proceeding well with God's blessing and with kind fortune breathing favorably upon you. As though with one tongue and without hesitation, everyone has good things to say. Now, they tell with admiration how you share your very breath and nature; one soul appears to move two beings. Now, they emphasize how seriously you have been devoting yourself to fine writing, and that you manage this in such a wide sea of barbarian speech. They then report that you have given yourselves to composing writings on behalf of true religion, and this in the abyss of irreligion, in which there is a real need to speak freely about the strength of true religion. Now they tell of your good deeds towards just about all who take their name from Christ and who need your assistance at this time. They speak of your concern not to deprive anyone of the good things God has

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\* Proverbial expression signifying immense riches.

given you. We rejoice, we are pleased, we applaud loudly, we welcome the praises as though they were meant for ourselves and not for others. For if, according to the proverb, "a friend is another self",\* then it would be reasonable to attribute the praises about you to ourselves. Because we think so highly of you, we greatly rejoice when you are held in honor.

May God grant that your noble acts ever increase. May he also grant me strength and ability for writing, so that I might employ it with confidence and be successful in praising, as I have long desired, my friends' noble deeds.

## 8.

To Kantakouzenos, the Uncle of the Emperor.

The noble Chrysoloras, together with the excellent Bryennios, traveling on an embassy from the emperor to the barbarian, because of the common nature of the negotiations, arrived here. I was overjoyed by my lengthy conversation with the man. It was as though I had unexpectedly found some hidden treasure. Great delight grasped my soul, moreover, as he rambled on to Pothos and as he took care to praise your accomplishments during the whole conversation with us. In all this he uttered praises one after the other. In every possible way he kept praising your noble qualities. He said that you were ever mindful of me, that you loved me even though absent, and that you esteemed me no less than the people constantly at your side. All of this gives clear testimony to your excellent disposition. For the person who chooses to love someone far away because of some noble qualities would hardly take lightly the importance of loving those nearby who deserve to be loved. But of course, we are aware of the proverbial doctrine that "the knee is closer than the calf".†

These are the things which the noble Chrysoloras eagerly told me about you and yours. For my part, I blessed the man for his web of praises, and I tried to express my respect for him in many words. But for me to praise him in this fashion was not proper. What I needed was to possess the rare fruit of Battos,<sup>∞</sup> which I would not have spared in showing good will and loving honor to the man. For I

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\* Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 7,4,5.

† *Ibid.*, 9,8,2.

<sup>∞</sup> Aristophanes, *The Rich Man*, 925.

must admit that I owe him a great debt of gratitude.

I would like now, bearing in mind your noble qualities and your concern for me, to compose my reply to you. For thirteen years now I have been stuck in this primitive place. Right up to the present I have been dwelling in this turbulent and miserable community. I am, moreover, far away from any books. Some I lost at the time when we were turning upon one another and mercilessly plundering one another's goods as though they belonged to foreigners. I suffered the loss of others because of the terrible, pitiless piracy around here and the constant attacks on ships sailing here. Because of all this, I have been isolated and a good distance removed from Hellenic writing and good Attic Greek. I cannot apply myself to writing with any confidence if I want to compose a decent letter to my friends or to give an orderly account of things. Instead of addressing my friends properly, I am afraid of speaking nonsense. And so I have decided not to talk to anyone. I think this is better. If I should start speaking I would afflict the ears of my friends and bring a great deal of shame on my fatherland. I owe it such a great debt of gratitude. It gave me birth and carefully nourished me. From childhood it educated me well and taught me literature. The long stretch of time, though, which followed upon those years produced a whole series of misfortunes on all sides. It brought me to the point that all I can do is mumble, and it has served to dull the edge of my writing almost permanently.

It seemed reasonable for me to adopt that way of proceeding, as you can understand. But friendship is a very compelling and tyrannical master, and it can be very persuasive, at times even making one break firm resolutions. For my friendship with you has in a most despotic way convinced me to set hand and tongue in motion, to do the opposite of what I had determined and, like the nightingale, to turn to singing the praises of friends instead of sitting fearfully in silence. The only difference is that the music of the nightingale also provides pleasure, whereas, if I am to sing a nice song about my friends, I shall have to start practicing at dawn.

9.

To Lord Isidore of Thessalonica.

Despite my slovenly way with words, there should be nothing strange about my wish to dwell with the lovers of the Muses, with those exceptionally wise men and forceful speakers. It is right to give them their due respect and honor, first because of the wisdom which surrounds them, and secondly because of their virtue which causes them, like gold or burning fire, as Pindar says, to shine brightly even while huddled in some hovel.\* When a person has less literary ability, he cannot inflict serious injury or damage on others, but will cause harm only to himself. But to grow insensitive to the good qualities of others, even when one might come in contact with the very best, and finally to despise those qualities, apart from being evidence of a very evil disposition, also, so to speak, somehow damages everything good and noble.

For myself now, I am aware that my literary expertise is minimal and, instead of even coming close to the art, I find myself standing a good distance away. I do not want to line myself up with those who are insensitive and not receptive to noble ideals. Anyone reading this letter I am now writing might well put me in that category. The truth is that I ought to have gotten around to this earlier and taken steps to renew that ancient friendship of ours which we formed in school when we were young and which time has made more precious. But, like a rushing torrent, the evils of the time have been pouring one evil thing upon another and piling greater evils on top of lesser ones. I have been afflicted by a multitude of evils, and this is what has hindered me. The blame for the earlier evils must be laid on shameful fate. On the other hand, for the ones now afflicting me I know what the best remedy is. I must rely on the charm of writing. Moved by this I have forgotten the myriad of evils still weighing down on me, and I have been pleasantly roused to write to my friends. But I cannot simply relegate what has been happening to a corner of my memory. For a long time now the jealous demon has, to use the words of the poet, "brought countless woes"† upon me.

\* *Olympian Odes*, 1, 1.

† *Homer, Iliad*, 1, 2.

But, may God look kindly upon me and change everything around for the better. Because of the common literature in which we have both been educated and the wonderful friendship which right from childhood we valued above all else, I am trying as best I can in this letter to make it clear that I have the fondest regard for you and look on your virtues as jewels. But you now, do not condemn the style of the letter and lose sight of the friendship. Pass over the manner in which the thoughts are expressed; rather, because of this endure the lack of style.

10.

With moderation I form my thoughts; moderation always marks my relations with my friends, and I communicate with them whether they be present or absent. I do not indulge in comedy and jests out of arrogance, as you insist on telling people, but I speak with civility and respect. If some of my remarks seem humorous, perhaps they have been improvised for the occasion, but they are still guided by moderation. On the other hand, they may be addressed to people who, if I may say so, deserve to be the butt of jokes and laughter. Unlike so many people, I am not that simple minded and backward that I cannot clearly distinguish intelligent people from stupid, or respected and well educated ones from terribly dumb and undisciplined, or those whose manner and mind are of the highest quality from those who always behave in a petty and wicked way. While there may be other experts in these matters, what I do is look at everyone, but not associate with all of them in the same manner. Carefully observing each one's thought, manner, and way of life I divide my speech in two directions. To those for whom praise and good words seem fitting I grant them and speak well of them. On the other hand, for people whose loathsome behavior places them on the opposite side, on these I have no difficulty in laying blame. Heeding the advice of the wise, however, I refrain from employing against them the weapons which their villainy deserves. Such means would simply not be proper for me. I have always been resolved to live a balanced life and to observe what is noble and just in every manner. But those coarse, shameless people give no indication of slinking away, and they even plan on attacking me. When this happens, I show them that the truth is superior, and I make it clear - let God be my witness - that I am capable of speaking on behalf of the truth. It is not necessary

"to kick against the goad"\* or to choose in vain to struggle against stronger men and, as the saying goes, pull the moon down on their own heads.†

Our wise teachers allow us to say this much. To criticize the meanness of beastly men is equivalent to praising the excellence of better men. This manner of speaking cuts off the evil at its roots and keeps worse plants from shooting up and eventually growing larger. In turn, it also makes it easier to dedicate oneself to what is noble. People, therefore, who speak in this way should not be termed insulters of friendship, but critics, or even destroyers of evil. But a person should not through ignorance or ill will use these terms interchangeably and be stupid or bad enough to call friendship wickedness and wickedness friendship. I readily admit that this is my manner and way of life even though it may cause people who disagree to burst into a thousand pieces. I know how to love in a special way those who deserve to be loved, and to hate those engaged in foul activities. I know how to praise men who give evidence of education and good sense, men intelligent enough not to trample on the truth. I can find fault with the devious, the envious, and those bred in utter evil doing.

Let me apply the words of the proverb. Like dogs who bite without barking, those people secretly bite the ones who have not fallen into their vices, and they think their most important task is to get their jealous tongues to produce some sort of evil against their betters. I am not, as some of the common mob, a boot able to fit both feet, nor am I borne along by events like Euripos, as indeed now a small matter ... lined up in the chorus of genuine friends ... show yourself to be another self. But if putting on a mask ... it is clear that you give the appearance of loving but have forgotten how you babble on.

You attempt to ridicule my writings in some way. You are envious because you lack any decent training in the art of writing. Apparently all your knowledge is simply sitting there on your haunches. Come now, admit that you cannot harm me or my writings. Nobody will be able to do so as long as the firm hand of God watches over me. But you will cause very serious harm to yourself for two reasons: because you wrong a guiltless friend and because you willingly betray your own honor to gain fleeting and empty glory.

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\* Acts of the Apostles, 26, 14; et al.    † Plato, Gorgias, 513a.

## 11.

To the Son of Oinaiotos.

I admire you for your good disposition no less than for the serious manner in which you apply yourself to fine writing. A serious attitude accompanied by a good natural disposition results in the greatest strength in science and art. How could you not be highly dedicated to writing? You have both qualifications, a good disposition which you have inherited by nature, and the seriousness you manifest in going about your writing day and night. For these reasons, therefore, I love you and sing the praises of your work. No less than love I also bring you my prayers. For I look upon you as my son, and I pray as well as I can that all the best may be given to you by God, and that in writing you come to be like your grandfather. This is the prayer I offer for you and yours. You, in turn, will always do what is best if you adhere firmly to your word to deal with words in the manner you long ago determined. This will enable you to be filled by the Muses and to enjoy the favors of Pieria, and you might observe us, not without reason, singing more praises about you to other people.

## 12.

To Kydones.

Truly close friends, even when they find themselves at opposite ends of the earth, would never be forgetful of their own companions. But those who do not find themselves in this situation and are always living in close proximity, ... I depend upon ... of money I think ... I contend least with myself for want of many ... to have made clear, but since he knows the hidden thoughts of hearts ... he knows perfectly. He will tell you truthfully about the disposition of my soul and how I always think well of you and am concerned about you. I was planning on substantiating this very point by writing frequently. What I would be unable to prove by friendly words, I could do by letter and thus discharge my obligation. I would derive the greatest pleasure both from giving and from taking.

That evil, spiteful spirit with its unalterable hatred of the Roman state, has been striving to turn everything upside down and has enveloped us in a kind of heavy,

dark cloud of evil. Its hostility has almost succeeded in making the remnant of our race, small indeed and not worth much, utterly vanish. It has lined up hordes of evils to assault us, and, as a result, friends have been prevented from writing to one another. All this, of course, depressed us, but we had to bear up under it, not willingly but forced by the constraints of fortune. The two emperors have now risen up against each other to the greatest detriment of the Romans and filled everything with confusion and swirling floods of disorder. Horrors have deluged the land of the Romans and like a flame have rekindled civil strife. There has been no concern for the common welfare, nor any steps taken to drive away those horrors. Each of the emperors, rather, is intent only on pleasure, on shameful honor, and sullied wealth for himself. They have dragged the country of the Romans down to this point of misfortune. One result is that a large number of undeserving people have chanced upon the greatest honors and, contrary to all justice and reason, have also amassed wealth for themselves. In time of dissension, as they say, the fully evil person receives honors, whereas the person with better qualities suffers horribly, and is drowned in tragedies. More than we could imagine, this is what has overwhelmed us and has deprived us of everything, including your most pleasant company. ... but suspicion ... who undoubtedly brought in ... as was right he prepared everyone ... at least those sent forth ... by letters also seems just to me. For it is not fear, moreover, ... we might put by writing. Is it not I who have taken the first step by writing? For a long time I have wanted to renew that former friendship, now venerable with age. As though loosing their bonds, I have set hand and tongue in motion to speak. But you, o best of friends, now that you have received a letter from me, gladden my spirit by replying in due time, fill it with the charms of your speech, and try to satiate me with what I have been deprived of for so many years.

## 13.

To the Emperor.

Most powerful emperor. If I were not in such poor physical condition, but more as I would like to be, I mean, better able and in condition to undertake the journey, without hesitation I would immediately set out on the road leading to Byzantium. I would follow it closely, just as

the Lydian, according to the proverb, who was invited into the plain.\* I would like to come and sincerely offer my due reverence to your magnificent person which merits all my respect, and I would like to present proof of the love swelling up in my soul. For this is the object of my overpowering love and this is what I keep in mind night and day. In the second place, I have, with God's help, made the necessary plans regarding my affairs and my household. I would like to do better and take the steps which are expected when important plans are being made. I would also, most holy emperor, like to see my affairs proceed prosperously and, to speak broadly, without difficulty. In this way I would very quickly accomplish my objectives, which would give me cause to hope for success without any hindrance. But since my body is still in such poor condition, it must follow that its limbs are also in miserable shape, and do not allow me to mount my horse with ease. ... but ... according to the judgment ... emperor right up to today ... at least for a short time to be able to breathe freely ... in the midst of continuous violent and terrible assaults and the constant, incredible machinations of loathsome people. What I suffer from them must surely be permitted by God. But, he is easily able to change it all around for the better. I am certain that my benefactor will look upon me and give proof of his usual loving kindness, even though I appear before him as an ignorant slave, and because I have done poorly in observing his commands I have steadily separated myself further away from him. Bereft of his help terrible afflictions fall upon me every day thick as blizzards. But, with his assistance, may I be freed of all those evils. May I find myself facing a better future. Instead of evils beyond measure, may I find some good fortune to offset the hurts of life. In this way will prosperity and honors accrue deservedly to the deserving.

14.

... I do not know ... fitting since this ... so beautiful a letter ... wanting to marvel, but always every-one worse ... these things concern ...

\* Common expression for doing what one is naturally inclined to do.

## Commentary

## Letter 1.

The Kydones to whom this and Letter 12 are addressed is almost certainly Demetrius (ca. 1323-1397/98). A native of Thessalonica, he gave his support to John Kantakouzenos, and when he became emperor in 1347 Kydones took the position of mesazon or prime minister, an office he also held for some thirty years under John V Palaeologus. Noted for his knowledge of Classical Greek language and literature, Kydones was one of the rare Byzantines to learn Latin, and he translated the writings of Thomas Aquinas and others into Greek. About 1357 he embraced the Roman Catholic faith and defended his action in several "apologies". Unlike most of his countrymen, he was favorably impressed by the papacy and the West in general, and in 1391 he received Venetian citizenship. He remained close to the imperial families he had served and was a particularly good friend of Manuel II Palaeologus. The 450 letters which make up his collected correspondence are a valuable historical source for the period. None of them, however, seem to be addressed to Potamios.<sup>11</sup>

## Letter 2.

Letters 2,3,4,5 were written to a certain Pothos, a not uncommon family name in the late Byzantine period. Members of this family bearing the Christian names of John, Mark, and Manuel were prominent in government service and were found among the literary friends of Manuel II Palaeologus and Demetrius Kydones.<sup>12</sup> One, sent on an embassy to

<sup>11</sup>On Kydones see R. J. Loenertz, "Démétrius Cydonès. I. De la naissance à l'année 1373", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 36 (1970), 47-72; "II. De 1373 à 1375", *ibid.*, 37 (1971), 5-39; F. Kianka, "The Apology of Demetrius Cydones: A fourteenth century autobiographical source", *Byzantine Studies*, 7 (1980), 57-71; and *Demetrius Cydones (c. 1324 - c. 1397): Intellectual and Diplomatic Relations between Byzantium and the West in the Fourteenth Century* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Fordham University, 1981).

<sup>12</sup>See Dennis, *Letters of Manuel Palaeologus*, 1-11.



the pope, was known for his anti-Latin feelings. Another, if not the same, was a judge. At any rate, the Pothos to whom Potamios wrote was obviously a very close friend, a boyhood companion, a writer, and a person who apparently held an important post in the government in the early 1380's. About 1384-85 he visited Potamios in his place of exile.

The gratitude to the emperors for having ceased hostilities expressed in the opening lines of this letter probably refers to the peace made between John V and his son Andronicus IV in May 1381 or its confirmation in the treaty of November 1382.<sup>13</sup> It could not be that between John V and John Kantakouzenos in 1354, for Potamios would not then be able to say that he was approaching old age (line 38). The evils of the past ten years and the civil wars he speaks of could easily refer to the 1370's. It is likely that this letter was written in 1381 or 1382.

#### Letters 3, 4.

The reference to his continuing misfortunes leads one to think that Potamios composed this letter about the same time as the previous one, perhaps a bit later. Letter 4 would seem to have been written about the same time.

#### Letter 5.

This letter is found in the manuscript without the name of the addressee. But, it is obvious from the mention of Pothos in the first and the last lines and from the play on his name that it was meant for Pothos. No date can be assigned.

#### Letter 6.

The addressee of this letter cannot be otherwise identified with any certainty; he is probably one of the persons to whom the following letter was addressed.

<sup>13</sup>Dennis, *The Reign of Manuel II in Thessalonica*, 44-51.

#### Letter 7.

Apart from this and the previous letter, nothing seems to be known about Gemistos and Athenodoros. One has the impression that they were relatively young, interested in rhetoric and in defending Orthodoxy, probably against Latin teachings. Perhaps they resided in one of the Frankish territories, such as Crete or Negroponte. It appears quite possible that they were monks.

#### Letter 8.

Theodore Palaiologos Kantakouzenos was a slightly older cousin, apparently the son of Matthew Kantakouzenos, the uncle of Manuel II Palaeologus, and was thus close enough in Byzantine usage to be called an uncle of the emperor.<sup>14</sup> John Chortasmenos wrote several poems glorifying Theodore's residence in Constantinople. In 1397 he was sent by Manuel II on a mission to King Charles VI of France, and in the following year was granted Venetian citizenship. As a member of the Byzantine senate he participated in the synod which condemned the troublesome Makarios of Ankara in 1409.<sup>15</sup> He died of the plague in 1410.

In Letter 2 Potamios spoke of being in his place of exile for ten years, which, as indicated above, would date it to 1381 or 1382. In this letter he mentions being in the same miserable place for thirteen years. This letter then was probably written in 1384-85.

It is most likely that the Chrysoloras here mentioned was Demetrius, with whom Potamios served in Thessalonica from 1403 to 1408. While not many facts are known about his life, he seems to have been about the same age as Potamios. He was also a good friend of emperor Manuel II and of John Chortasmenos, from both of whom he received several

<sup>14</sup>See D. M. Nichol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuaenus) ca. 1100-1460* (Washington, 1968), 165-66; H. Hunger, *Johannes Chortasmenos (ca. 1370-ca. 1436/37). Briefe, Gedichte und Kleine Schriften* (Vienna, 1969), 104-108. He was not the Theodore Kantakouzenos to whom Kydones addressed Letters 250 and 254 in 1383.

<sup>15</sup>V. Laurent, "Le Trisépiscopat du patriarche Matthieu I<sup>er</sup> (1397-1410)", *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, 30 (1972), 56, 133.

letters.<sup>16</sup> He was highly regarded as a rhetorician, and also interested himself in some anti-Latin polemics.<sup>17</sup> In 1409 his remarks on peace in the church were so eloquent that they "would make a stone shed tears".<sup>18</sup> In the 1390's he served in the court of Manuel II's nephew and rival, John VII, remaining with him while he governed Constantinople during Manuel's three year absence in the West, and then accompanied him to Thessalonica as his chief minister, mesazon, until John's death in 1408. Demetrius returned to the capital, continuing in the imperial service and holding the rank of senator.

The Bryennios who accompanied Chrysoloras on the embassy is more difficult to track down, since it was a common name in the Palaeologan period. The emperor on whose behalf the ambassadors traveled could, as mentioned above, have been either John V in Constantinople or his rebellious son Manuel II in Thessalonica. The barbarian would be the Turkish ruler Murad I or one of his lieutenants, and the year would be 1384-85 (see above, page 4). The place in which Potamios was staying, probably a Latin possession, was also involved in the negotiations. Pothos, who was present, must be the addressee of Letters 2-5.

#### Letter 9.

Born in 1342, John Glabas took monastic vows in 1375, changing his name to Isidore, and five years later became metropolitan of Thessalonica.<sup>19</sup> But in spring 1384 he left the city, then under siege by the Turks, and sailed to Constantinople. The patriarch and synod suspended him from his functions for having deserted his flock. Two years later imperial pressure caused him to be rehabilitated, al-

<sup>16</sup>Dennis, *Letters of Manuel Palaeologus*, xxxiv-xxxv; Hunger, *Chortasmenos*, 91-94.

<sup>17</sup>H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), 751; M. Treu, "Demetrios Chrysoloras und seine hundert Briefe", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 20 (1911), 106-28; G. Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini e le origini dell'umanesimo. I. Manuele Crisolora* (Florence, 1941), 198-201.

<sup>18</sup>Laurent, "Le Trisépiscopat du patriarche Matthieu", 134, 136.

<sup>19</sup>See Dennis, *The Reign of Manuel in Thessalonica*, 16-18; 89-95, for more details. There are a number of unresolved questions concerning Isidore's behavior in Thessalonica.

though relations between him and patriarch Nilos remained cool. His relations with Manuel II are not clearly described, but it is difficult to imagine that they were cordial. Isidore was back in Thessalonica in 1393 and stayed there until his death in January 1396. Eight letters of his are extant, together with a large collection of homilies.

#### Letter 10.

The addressee, date, and occasion of this letter cannot be determined. Possibly it was simply a rhetorical exercise, although Manuel Palaeologus and others did compose (and perhaps later revise) letters of this sort intended for real persons.

#### Letter 11.

An Oinaïotes, probably Andronicus, figures among the correspondents of Demetrius Kydones (Letters 36, 141), but no clear connection can be made with the addressee of this letter. Grandfather need not be taken literally. In rhetorical usage it frequently designated the teacher of the author, the written work being regarded as the author's child.

#### Letter 12.

In this letter to (Demetrius) Kydones Potamios speaks of the horrors unleashed on the Byzantine world by the warfare between the emperors. He employs the Classical Greek dual which, if taken strictly, means that he is talking of only two emperors. It would be very surprising if a writer of Potamios's education were to resurrect the dual and not use it in its strict sense of designating two persons. The two emperors he speaks of must be John V and his oldest son Andronicus IV, and the conflict would be that in 1373 or that in 1385, shortly before the death of Andronicus. Potamios would have been too young to write of the wars between John V and John VI Kantakouzenos in the 1340's and 1350's, and in the other dynastic conflicts of the period more than two emperors were involved. The mention of "friendship now venerable with age" inclines one to assign a later date, say 1385, to this letter.

## Letter 13.

Potamios excuses himself for not being able, owing to illness, to travel to Constantinople to present a certain request in person to the emperor. The emperor, either John V, who died on 16 February 1391, or his son and successor Manuel II, was in Constantinople, as the mention of "the road to Byzantium" makes clear. If he had been in better health, Potamios could have ridden there on horseback. He was, then, on the mainland, not too far from the capital. His request is couched in rather obscure language and was probably more clearly conveyed by the bearer of the letter.

# UN FONDO SCONOSCIUTO DI ATTI NOTARILI VENETI IN SAN FRANCISCO

Se è noto che documenti veneziani si trovano sparsi in varie biblioteche ed archivi d'Europa, non è forse altrettanto noto che un gran numero di tali documenti esiste nella lontana California. Infatti, nella città di San Francisco la Biblioteca Sutro, la quale ora fa parte della Biblioteca di Stato di California, possiede un fondo di 168 atti notarili, quasi tutti provenienti dal Veneto e datati dal 1406 al 1662. Recentemente è stato pubblicato un inventario o catalogo sommario di tali documenti.<sup>1</sup> Nel presente articolo noi ci limitiamo a dare una breve notizia di questo fondo e a segnalare alcuni documenti che ci sembrano di un interesse particolare, aggiungendo qualche saggio d'edizione.

La Biblioteca Sutro ebbe origine nel periodo 1870-1890 quale collezione privata del ricco californiano Adolf Sutro. Con circa 250.000 libri d'ogni genere, fra i quali molti manoscritti e 3.000 *incunabula*, fu una delle più grandi biblioteche private del mondo. Sfortunatamente però, quasi la metà venne distrutta nel disastroso terremoto ed incendio del 1906. Gli eredi Sutro donarono la biblioteca allo Stato di California nel 1913, stipulando che essa rimanesse nella città di San Francisco. Dopo vari spostamenti, la biblioteca è attualmente situata in una bella sede accanto all'Università di San Francisco. Nonostante le gravi perdite sofferte nel 1906, essa è ancora ricchissima di libri rari, possedendo, per esempio, una raccolta di libri e manoscritti di viaggi e scoperte, e una collezione di manoscritti ebrei dello Yemen. Ma la sua importanza principale consiste nella ricchissima collezione di materiale per lo studio della genealogia e storia locale degli Stati Uniti.

Si ignora come e quando siano arrivati a San Francisco i docu-

1. GEORGE T. DENNIS, *An Inventory of Italian Notarial Documents in the Sutro Library, San Francisco*, « Manuscripta », IX (1965), pp. 89-103. L'indirizzo della Biblioteca Sutro è: Sutro Library, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, California (94117), U. S. A.

menti veneti, ma è molto probabile che essi siano stati acquistati nel periodo che vede la formazione della biblioteca cioè negli ultimi decenni dell'Ottocento. Questi documenti non formano una collezione organica, ma piuttosto una raccolta di atti notarili provenienti da diversi archivi. La frequenza di certi nomi veneziani ci permette di supporre che molti atti facessero parte una volta di archivi privati o familiari. Ci sono, per esempio, 24 documenti riguardanti la casa patrizia Barbarigo, 18 la famiglia de Priolis, 12 la famiglia Fontana, 11 la famiglia Buzachareno. Altri nomi di famiglie ben note che si incontrano negli atti del fondo sono Barbier, Bembo, Condulmer, Contarini, Dolfin, Loredan, Marcello, Michele, Tiepolo, Zeno. In genere, l'interesse del fondo consiste nella conoscenza ampia e dettagliata che esso fornisce dell'espansione veneziana, specialmente da parte delle grandi famiglie commerciali, nella terraferma, e in particolare nella regione padovana.

L'inventario dei documenti già citato presenta un elenco degli atti secondo la loro collocazione nella Biblioteca Sutro, dove si trovano nel reparto denominato *Italian Manuscripts*. Per ciascun atto è notato il luogo di rilascio, la data, la misura, la lingua (per lo più italiano o latino), e una descrizione molto sommaria del contenuto. Tutti i documenti sono scritti su pergamene di misura diversa, di cui talune si compongono di due o tre pezzi incollati insieme, e altre sono in uno stato di cattiva conservazione. Alla fine dell'inventario si trovano tre indici: uno cronologico, uno dei luoghi, e uno dei principali nomi di famiglia. L'atto più antico (167) è una sistemazione di terreno in Conegliano nel 1406, mentre il più recente (1) fu datato in Venezia nel 1662. Per il Quattrocento vi sono 24 documenti; per il Cinquecento 123; per il Seicento 23; quattro sono di datazione dubbia. Gli atti rilasciati in Venezia sono circa 92 (però, alcuni sono di provenienza incerta); quelli rilasciati in Padova 58. Gli altri atti provengono da varie località quali, per esempio, Mantova, Verona, Treviso, Corfù e Rodi.

Per dare una idea, pure assai generale, del contenuto del fondo,

ci sembra opportuno mettere in rilievo alcuni dei documenti, seguendo l'ordine della loro collocazione nella Biblioteca Sutro.

1. Venezia, 14 dicembre 1662. La Signora Zannetta Maffei, vedova di Giovanni dalla Zanna, concede a Francesco Soderini l'uso di una tomba nella chiesa delle monache del Santo Sepolcro in Venezia.

3. Treviso, 16 marzo 1573. Una pergamena di forma strana con tracce di un bollo di cera rossa col titolo: « Copia tratta del zornal corente della camera fischal di Tr(evis)o, 1573 a dì 16 marzo ». Si tratta « di comprede e francacion di colte alla magnifica comunità di Civald », riferentisi a ser Franco Fontana, del fu Aloisio.

5. Padova, 8 luglio 1535. Una richiesta fatta al comune di Padova da ser Zaccaria de Priolis, de fu Aloisio, riguardante l'esenzione doganale per certi suoi beni.

8. Venezia, 14 giugno 1621. Giovanni Maria Pencini, del fu Virgilio, vende al prezzo di 800 ducati un terreno sito nella Villa di Masi sotto Castel Baldo nella regione padovana alla Signora Lucrezia Barbarigo, vedova di Gianluigi Barbarigo e madre di Giacomo. (Altri atti che spettano alla medesima Signora Lucrezia Barbarigo sono i documenti 157 a 160).

13. Venezia, 4 febbraio 1575. Vendita di proprietà da parte di Francesco Fontana, del fu Aloisio, all'abate del monastero di San Gregorio in Venezia.

18. Venezia, 19 dicembre 1561. Una pergamena in cattive condizioni e di difficile lettura. Si tratta di una sistemazione di proprietà riguardante il monastero di Sant'Andrea del Lido, con menzione di Giovanni Battista « de Viterbio », priore dello stesso monastero, ser Aloisio Buzachareno, del fu Antonio, ser Trojano Buzachareno, del fu Andulfo, e ser Aloisio Nigro.

21. Padova, 3 luglio 1472. Un lungo documento ricorda la solenne investitura fatta dal vescovo di Padova, Giacomo Zeno, di una proprietà, sita in Castel Baldo, ai fratelli Gerolamo e Pietro Michele, figli del fu Giacomo. In parte si legge come segue:

Padue, in episcopali palatio in audientia nova superiori, ... coram reverendissimo in Christo patre et domino, domino Iacobo Zeno, ... personaliter constituti egregius iuris scholaris dominus Hieronymus Michael, quondam clarissimi doctoris domini Iacobi, civis et habitator Padue in contracta Sancti Danielis, et ser Petrus, frater suus, humiliter et devote et cum omni debita reverentia petierunt ... de eodem feudo seu eadem parte feudi decimalis investire. De quo feudo seu parte feudi alias et ultimo idem quondam nobilis dominus Iacobus Michael, pater eorum, et nobilis Baldus Michael, eorum patruus, a bone memorie quondam domino Petro Donato, olim et tunc episcopo Paduano fuerunt investiti sub anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo trigesimo septimo, indictione quintadecima, die veneris, quartadecima mensis iunii. ... *[Segue l'investitura giuridica con tutte le formalità d'uso, e un elenco dei privilegi e diritti conferiti con una descrizione assai dettagliata della proprietà stessa. Alla fine vengono le firme degli interessati e dei testimoni, ultima quella del notaio]*. Et ego Daniel Sarracenus, quondam Gregorii, civis Vicentinus, publicus imperiali auctoritate notarius et prefati reverendissimi domini episcopi Patavini cancellarius et continuus commensalis...

22. Treviso, 9 novembre 1444. Ricorda il pagamento di un debito da parte di Giacomo da Bologna, pellicciaio, a Benedetto Giudeo, prestatore, citando un altro documento del 4 novembre 1440.

30. Padova, 18 settembre 1557. Vendita di proprietà nella regione padovana da parte di ser Andulfo de Buzachareno, del fu Trojano, al Reverendo Padre Ugone de Manentibus, priore del monastero di Sant'Andrea del Lido di Venezia.

41. Padova, 21 ottobre 1465. Sistemazione di proprietà fra ser Luigi da Fano, del fu Simone, cittadino di Padova, e ser Antonio Barbarigo, del fu Gabriele, cittadino di Venezia.

100. Padova, 1 agosto 1562. Sistemazione di proprietà riguardante la famiglia Buzachareno fatta alla presenza di alcuni vescovi ed altri ecclesiastici, fra i quali il cardinale Francesco Pisani, vescovo di Frascati ed amministratore della diocesi di Padova.

129. Padova, 10 ottobre 1436. Ser Giacomo Michele, *legum doctor*, del fu Bartolomeo, e suo fratello Baldo affittano una casa per un periodo di nove anni.

130. Corfù, 15-20 maggio 1501. Pier Leone, bailo e capitano di Corfù, interviene in una controversia pronunciandosi in favore di Adriana, vedova di Francesco de Altavilla.

134. Venezia, 18 settembre 1505. Laura, figlia del fu Antonio Barbarigo, e vedova di Aloisio Contarini, nomina come procuratori i suoi fratelli, Gabriele e Giovanni Barbarigo.

152. Venezia, 14 giugno 1520. Ser Sebastiano Moro, prima di partire per Cipro, designa come procuratori in Venezia ser Vittore Barbarigo, ser Stefano Tiepolo e ser Giacomo Barbarigo.

Trascriviamo integralmente i due seguenti documenti (124 e 166) che riguardano la vendita di schiave.

124. Rodi, 19 novembre 1430. *Una pergamena di cm. 24 × 37, scritta con inchiostro marrone chiaro. Ser Niccolò Doria, mercante genovese, agendo in nome di suo fratello Rafaele Doria, vende una schiava di nome Maria a ser Piero Barbarigo, cittadino di Venezia.*

In nomine Dominy, amen. Hoch autem est codam istrumentum exhactum et estratum de hactis seu e scripturis curye comerchi Rodi per me not(arium) publicum et escribam cury comerchi Rodi infra escriptum, de mandato tamen et licenciam venerabilly vyro religioso domino frater Garcia de Turyba, sacre domus Ospitallis sancti Iohanis Iehrosalem preceptorem Sucamino et de Ascone, venerabilly baylli curye comerchi Rodi, de cuyus quidem escripture tenorem inferyus sequitur et per omnia et tallis, vydelicet.

+ Die xviiiij de noembre de millesimo iiiicxxx ser Nicolosso Dory, mercader Genoves, en Rodes per nom de ser Rafaell Dorya, son frare, per lo quall promet de rat de sa bona voluntat vende en nom de venda, balla e llivra a ser Pero Barbarygo, Venecia e citadi de Venecia, present acatant una eschava de nacio Avogassa clamada Marya de dat d'any xii in circha per preu de ducati de Rodes setanta, de li qualli ducati lxx lo dit ser Nicolosso Dorya per nom del dit ser Rafaell Dorya, son frare, se te per content e pagat del dit ser Pero Barbarygo e promet de fer bona la venda a la bona e leall usanza de Rodes, en presentia de messer lo baylli, e confessa eser eschava del dit ser Rafaell Dorya e de la sopra dita naci<o>.

Testimonis ser Pero Frarys e Iacomo de Palma, de quibus omnybus et singullis infra escryptis ditus ser Pero Barbarygo petit siby fieri et estrary hoc presens publicum istrumentum de ditis hactis et escripturis cury comerchi Rodi per me notaryum publicum et escriba in curye comerchi Rodi. acta et estrata fuit hec in Rodo, ano nativitatem Domyny milessimo quattrogentessimo treggessimo, inditione otava et die ut supra datum.

[Signum notarii] Et ego Iacobus Alen, publicus imperyalli notarius et escribam curye comerchi Rodi, autorytatem hec presens publicum istrumentum de ditis hactis et escripturis curye comerchi Rodi de mandato iam diti domini baylli fideliter estrassi et in anc publicam formam redegei, meysque proprio signo et nomine roboravi in fidem hac testimonyum omnyum singulorum <... pre> missorum.

[retro] + Charta di Maria o di una Avogasa di mi Pirro Bargarigo, fo quondam misser Antuoni, conprada a Rodi da uno Genoves, di 19 di novebre di 1430 per duc(ati) 70 d'oro <...>.

*Nota.* Sucamino (o Sucameno; greco, Sykaminos) era una commanderia importante dei Cavalieri di Rodi sita nel nord dell'Attica. Dal tempo della conquista catalana del ducato d'Atene, il priore della commanderia era di nazionalità spagnola, come il titolare qui nominato.<sup>2</sup> *Avogassa* è una forma del nome, Abkhassa, cioè la schiava era originaria di Abkhazia nel Caucaso.<sup>3</sup>

2. Vedi, per esempio, A. RUBIÓ I LLUCH, *Diplomatari de l'Orient, Català*, Barcelona 1947, doc. 449, p. 519.

3. Vedi C. VERLINDEN, *Esclavage et ethnographie sur les bords de la Mer Noire (XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, in *Miscellanea historica in honorem Leonis Van der Essen*, Bruxelles 1947, I, pp. 287-298.

[L'atto è importante per più motivi: viene ad aggiungersi, intanto, ai non molti documenti sulla condizione del commercio genovese a Rodi nella prima metà del XV secolo (cfr. C. JONA, *Genova e Rodi agli albori del Rinascimento*, in « Atti Soc. Lig. Storia Patria », LXIV, 1935, pp. 67-154) ed è conferma, poi, del persistente uso cancelleresco del catalano, sul quale ha sempre tanto insistito, ed a ragione, A. RUBIÓ I LLUCH (si veda, per ultimo, il capitolo *La llengua dels documents* a pagg. XXXVII-XL del *Diplomatari*, cit. a nota 2), tanto più significativo, se si consideri l'illustre tradizione umanistica giovanita ed il sempre più largo impiego nell'Ordine, come lingue officiose, del francese e dell'italiano.

La lingua del documento è corretta: alcune deviazioni sono facilmente spiegabili con il carattere stesso della scrittura, che manifesta alcuni tratti correnti, tuttora reperibili in dialetti catalani (così *noembre* per *novembre* e *acatar* per *acaptar* con il senso, ora arcaico, di "comperare") o frequenti nei documenti medioevali, come *Pero* (anziché

166. Venezia, 13 gennaio 1426. *Una pergamena di cm. 14 × 28.*  
Ser Luigi Loredan, del fu Giovanni, vende una schiava russa di nome Maria a ser Gabriele Barbarigo, del fu Antonio.

In Christi nomine, amen. Anno nativitatis eiusdem millesimo quadingentesimo vigesimo quinto, indicione tercia, die terciodecimo mensis ianuarii.

Egregius et nobillis vir, dominus Ludovicus Lauredano, quondam egregii et nobillis viri domini Iohannis, honorabilis civis et habitator Veneciis in contrata sancti Cantiani, sponte et ex certa scientia dedit, vendidit atque tradidit egregio et nobilli viro, domino Gabrieli Barbadico, quondam egregii atque nobilis viri domini Antonii, honorabili civi et habitatori Venetiarum in contrata sancti Iervasii, ibi presenti et pro se et suis heredibus accipienti et recipienti, quondam ipsius domini Ludovici sclavam de patria Rossie, vocatam in lingua latina Maria, etatis annorum viginti septem vel circa, sanam corpore et omnibus suis membris occultis et manifestis et a morbo caduco liber, pro precio et precii nomine duchatorum sexaginta sex auri, quod quidem pretium sive quos lxvi duchatos prefatus dominus Lodovicus Lauredano venditor in presentia mei notarii et testium infrascriptorum in paratis duchatis auri a dicto nobile viro domino Gabriele Barbadico emptore predicto habuit et recepit. eapropter prefatus dominus Lodovicus venditor contulit atque confert ipsi domino Gabrieli emptori super dicta sclava purum et merum dominium cum libertate et potestate de ipsa sclava disponendi et faciendi prout de sua processerit voluntate, promittens prefatus dominus Ludovicus venditor sclave predictus ipse cum suis heredibus ipsi domino Gabrieli emptori predicto et suis heredibus de dicta sclava litem non movere vel inferre nec moventi vel inferenti consentire et eam pro sua sclava ab unoquoque in iudicio atque extra legitime defendere, autorizzare et disbrigare omnibus ipsius venditoris et heredum suorum sumptibus, laboribus et expensis istius

*Pere*), "Pietro" nei nomi stranieri o *ciatdi* (invece di *ciudadà*), che, usato assolutamente, indicava un "cittadino italiano".

Né il lessico presenta particolari difficoltà d'interpretazione: *mercader* "mercante", *frare* "fratello", *ballar* (cioè *baylar*) "porre in potere (in balia) di qualcuno", *llivra* (meglio: *lliura*) "mettere in possesso di qualcuno", *eschava* (meglio: *esclaua*) "schiava", *nacio* (cioè *nació*) "nazione, stirpe", *preu* "prezzo", *se te* (cioè *se té*) "si tiene", *fer* "fare", sono tutte voci di facile intelligenza, proprie, per lo più, del linguaggio notarile dell'epoca, come sarà *de rat.* - M. CORTELAZZO].

obligatione omnium dicti venditoris et suorum heredum bonorum presentium et futurorum.

Actum Veneciis in Rivoalto ad apothecam mei Iohannis Crescimbene, notarii infrascripti, presentibus ser Nicoletto Asale, quondam ser Lodovici, de contrata sancti Samuelis, necnon ser Bertucio Nigro, notario de contrata sancte Margarite, civibus et habitatoribus Veneciis, testibus ad presenzia vocatis et rogatis.

[Signum notarii] Ego Iohannes, quondam ser Bartholomei Crescimbene de Veneciis, publicus imperiali auctoritate ac Veneciarum notarius et iudex ordinarius, predictis omnibus et singulis interfui et rogatus scripsi et publicavi sigilloque solito meo roboravi.

*Nota.* Nel 1408 il veneziano Pietro Loredan comprò a Tana una schiava russa di nome Maria la quale aveva circa quindici anni (*de etate annorum quindecim vel circa*).<sup>4</sup> Data l'inesattezza colla quale si parla dell'età delle schiave, non è impossibile che si tratta della stessa persona. Il notaio, Giovanni Crescimbene, è conosciuto da molti atti dal 1391 al 1430.<sup>5</sup>

4. Moretto Bon, *notaio in Venezia, Trebisonda e Tana (1403-1408)*, ed. SANDRO DE' COLLI, Venezia 1963, doc. 30, p. 40.

5. ANDREA DA MOSTO, *L'Archivio di Stato di Venezia*, 2 voll., Roma 1937-1940, 1, p. 230.

## AN INVENTORY OF ITALIAN NOTARIAL DOCUMENTS IN THE SUTRO LIBRARY, SAN FRANCISCO

The Sutro Library in San Francisco, now a branch of the California State Library, was begun as a private collection by Adolph Sutro in the period from 1870 to 1890. Totaling some 250,000 volumes, including almost 3,000 *incunabula*, it was one of the largest private libraries in the world. Unfortunately, however, slightly more than half of it was destroyed in the San Francisco fire and earthquake of 1906. In 1913 Adolph Sutro's heirs presented the library to the State of California, with the stipulation that it be kept in San Francisco. After being housed temporarily in the Lane Medical Library Building and then in the San Francisco Public Library, it is presently located on the campus of the University of San Francisco.<sup>1</sup>

Noted principally for its resources in American local history and genealogy, the Sutro Library is one of the major genealogical reference libraries in the United States, with about 12,000 works on heraldry, family history, census records, military rosters, county and town histories. But it is also rich in other fields: for example, there is a collection of one hundred and fifty Yemenite Hebrew manuscripts of all shapes and sizes, about fifty surviving *incunabula*, a large number of seventeenth century English political pamphlets, as well as early books and manuscripts on travel and exploration. Among this diversity of material is a collection of 168 Italian notarial documents on parchment of various sizes and in varying states of preservation. Almost all are dated in Venice or its vicinity in the period from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries.

Apart from a number of miscellaneous items, this collection includes groups of notarial acts, chiefly property settlements, pertaining to several Venetian families, an indication that they once formed part of certain family archives; for example, some

<sup>1</sup> An interesting and descriptive booklet has been compiled by the Sutro Librarian, Richard H. Dillon, *Sutro Library Through the Centuries* (San Francisco, 1957). A booklist entitled "New Arrivals in American Local History and Genealogy" is published occasionally. A catalogue of the Mexican pamphlet collection appeared some thirty years ago, but is no longer available. No other catalogues have been printed, although a few specialized subject bibliographies have appeared from time to time. The present mailing address is: Sutro Library, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, California (94117).

twenty-four documents deal with the well known Barbarigo family of Venice.<sup>2</sup> The purchase and sale of property, particularly in the region about Padua, provide further evidence of Venetian expansion on the mainland and of the investment in landed property by wealthy, mercantile families. Also of interest are two documents (124 and 166) recording the sale of slaves in the early fifteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, there exists no comprehensive work on Venetian notarial acts, although lists of notaries and the records of a few individuals have been published.<sup>4</sup>

Since this collection of Italian notarial acts may be of interest to scholars, it is the aim of the following pages to present a summary catalogue or inventory of these documents. The numbering is that of the Sutor Library, where they are listed under the heading: *Italian Manuscripts*. First is given the place and date of each act; several entries on the same parchment are listed as (a), (b), etc. The language employed in the document (generally Latin or Italian) is then noted, together with its size in centimeters. This is followed by a very brief description of its contents. In several cases the names of individuals or families referred to in the manuscripts are given, as well as some remarks on the condition of the parchment. The Venetian style of dating has been standardized and, in general, normal usage has been observed in the spelling of proper names, e.g., Giovanni instead of Zuanne. Three short indices have also been added: one listing the documents in chronological order, the second giving the places where they were written, and the third listing the principal family names mentioned, including churches and monasteries.

#### INVENTORY OF DOCUMENTS

1. Venice, 14 Dec. 1662. Italian. cm. 15 x 34. Signora Zannetta Maffei, widow of Giovanni dalla Zanna, grants Francesco Soderini the use of a tomb located in the Church of the Nuns of the Holy Sepulchre in Venice.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. F. H. Lane, *Andrea Barbarigo, Merchant of Venice 1418-1449* (Baltimore, 1944).

<sup>3</sup> These two documents are to be published in the forthcoming issue of the *Bollettino dell' Istituto di storia della società e dello stato Veneziano*.

<sup>4</sup> Although incomplete, the basic work is still that of B. Cecchetti, *Archivio di Stato in Venezia. Statistica degli atti custoditi nella sezione notarile* (Venice, 1886). Also cf. A. da Mosto, *L'Archivio di Stato di Venezia*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1937-1940), I, 225-270. Several volumes of notarial and family archives have been published in the series, *Fonti per la storia di Venezia* (Venice, 1947 ff.), and several more are in preparation.

2. Venice (?), 3 Jan. 1576. Latin. cm. 15 x 33. Document regarding inheritance. Very difficult hand.

3. Treviso (?), 16 March 1573. Italian. cm. 17 x 28. Excerpt copied from the records of the financial office of Treviso. "Copia tratta dal zornal corente della camera fischal de Tr(evis)o." Reference to the Commune of Cividale and to ser Franco Fontana, son of the late Aloisio. Odd shape; trace of red wax seal.

4. Padua, 20 Aug. 1558. Latin. cm. 26 x 71. Document regarding purchase of property.

5. Padua, 8 July 1535. Italian. cm. 25 x 29. Zaccaria de Priolis, son of the late Aloisio, requests customs exemptions from the Commune of Padua for certain goods of his.

6. Venice, 27 Sept. 1539. Latin. cm. 22 x 54. Sale of property by ser Niccolò Guiato, son of the late Gasparo de Tersicolis, to ser Aloisio Fontana, son of the late Alberto.

7. Venice, 21 Dec. 1661. Italian. cm. 15 x 29. Agreement made regarding marriage and dowry made by Madonna Francesca di Lorenzo, daughter of Signora Meneghina, widow of the late Francesco di Lorenzo, *olim* Barbier, presently wife of Giovanni Zapparini.

8. Venice, 14 June 1621. Italian. cm. 26 x 30. Giovanni Maria Pencini, son of the late Virgilio, sells for 800 ducats property in the Villa di Masi below Castel Baldo in the territory of Padua to Signora Lucrezia Barbarigo, widow of Gian Aloisio Barbarigo and mother of Giacomo.

9. Padua, (a) 6 Dec. 1561, (b) 22 Dec. 1561, (c) 2 Jan. 1562. Latin. cm. 22 x 61. Agreements regarding purchase of property between Tommaso de Varotaro, son of the late Giovanni, and Aloisio Buzachareno, both citizens of Padua.

10. Padua, 12 Dec. 1561. Latin. cm. 24 x 58. Document regarding the property purchase dealt with in the preceding document.

11. Venice (?), 19 July 1580. Italian. cm. 23 x 32. Agreement regarding custody of children; mention of the Contarini and Bembo families. Document in very poor condition.

12. (a) Padua, 1 July 1573, (b) Venice, 28 Nov. 1573, (c) Venice, 21 May 1574. Latin. cm. 19 x 154. Purchase of property by ser Aloisio de Priolis, son of Francesco, son of the late Zaccaria, from Ottaviano Buzachareno, son of the late Aloisio, Giovanni Sertorio, son of the late Gasparo, and Luigi Buzachareno, son of Francesco, all procurators for Antonio Buzachareno.

13. Venice, 4 Feb. 1575. Latin. cm. 19 x 60. Purchase of property; mention of Francesco Fontana, son of the late Aloisio, and of the Abbot of San Gregorio in Venice.

14. Venice, 4 June 1588. Italian. cm. 18 x 50. Purchase of a villa in Tresiegola in the territory of Padua; mention of the Dolfin and Barbarigo families. Document badly torn at the top.

15. Venice, 7 Nov. 1590. Latin. cm. 18 x 47. Sale of a villa in Tresiegola; mention of Francesco Fontana.



16. Padua (?), (a) 26 Feb. 1600, (b) 11 March 1600. Latin. cm. 16 x 50. Financial document regarding the Nuns of Sao Paolo.

17. Padua, 28 Sept. 1613. Latin. cm. 21 x 54. Sale of property involving Gian Francesco de Priolis.

18. Venice, 19 Dec. 1561. Latin. cm. 21 x 50. Sale of property involving the monastery of Sant' Andrea del Lido; mention of Giovanni Battista de Viterbio, prior of the monastery, ser Aloisio Buzachareno, son of the late Antonio, Trojano Buzachareno, son of the late Andulfo, and Aloisio Nigro. Parchment very worn in places.

19. Venice, (a) 19 April 1572, (b) 13 May 1572. Latin. cm. 24 x 74. Purchase of property involving Francesco Fontana.

20. Venice, 5 June 1578. Latin. cm. 17 x 47. Property agreement involving Cornelia Grimani, Giacomo Condulmer and Camillo Faella. Document very faded in places.

21. Padua, 3 July 1472. Latin. cm. 27 x 42. At their request, Gerolamo and Pietro Michele, sons of the late Giacomo, are invested by Giacomo Zeno, bishop of Padua, with property (*feudum*) in Castel Baldo.

22. Treviso, 9 Nov. 1444. Latin and Italian. cm. 15 x 27. Settlement of a debt between Giacomo de Bologna, furrier, and Benedetto Giudeo, money-lender in Treviso; citation of Italian document of 4 Nov. 1440. Small and difficult hand.

23. Venice (?), 17 June 1573. Italian. cm. 33 x 77. Notarial copy of the testament of Aloisio Tomasini, son of the late Fazio of Venice, drawn up on 1 April 1573.

24. Venice, 9 Oct. 1572. Latin. cm. 25 x 72. Sale of property to ser Francesco Fontana, son of the late Aloisio, citizen of Venice, by R. P. Marco de Donneis, vice rector of the Church of San Silvestro in Villa Vetricio in the vicariate of Mirani, acting in his own name and in that of his brothers, Agnolino and Giovanni, sons of the late Battista de Donneis, all of the same place.

25. Padua, (a) 4 Dec. 1564, (b) 9 Dec. 1564, (c) 14 April 1565, (d) 2 May 1565. Latin. cm. 19 x 92. Sale of property by ser Gasparo de Leone, son of the late Giacomo, and his son Salustio (age 17) to ser Gian Francesco de Priolis, son of the late Zaccaria.

26. Venice, 5 Nov. 1564. Latin. cm. 17 x 66. Sale of property by Santo Sachetto, son of the late Niccolò de Melio, of Villa Rosarie e Mellarie in the territory of Padua to ser Gian Francesco de Priolis, son of the late Zaccaria.

27. Padua, 20 Oct. 1556. Latin. cm. 17 x 71. Payment of debt by Gian Francesco de Priolis to ser Giovanni Maria Mattoni, detto Lotto, son of the late ser Battista, of Villa Savonaria.

28. Padua, 14 Oct. 1556. Latin. cm. 16 x 37. Sale of property to Gian Francesco de Priolis by ser Antonio Padovano, son of the late Bernardo.

29. Venice, 9 Jan. 1563. Latin. cm. 23 x 62. Sale of property to Gian

Francesco de Priolis by ser Santo Gattola, son of the late Pietro, of Villa Rosarie in the territory of Padua.

30. Padua (?), 18 Sept. 1557. Latin. cm. 21 x 45. Sale of property in the territory of Padua by ser Andulfo de Buzachareno, son of Trojano, to Rev. P. Ugone de Manentibus, prior of the monastery of Sant'Andrea del Lido.

31. Padua, (a) 11 Jan. 1458, (b) 27 March 1458, (c) 5 May 1458. Latin. cm. 30 x 102. Property agreement; two pieces of parchment glued together; very difficult hand.

32. Padua, (a) 5 Feb. 1563, (b) 8 April 1564. Latin. cm. 30 x 67. Sale of property by Silio Bissegga, son of the late Mei, to Cristoforo, son of the late Francesco. Very faded in places.

33. Venice, 6 Sept. 1639. Italian. cm. 12 x 45. Inheritance settlement regarding the Condulmer family.

34. Venice, 25 Nov. 1559. Latin. cm. 21 x 54. Sale of property by Tommaso Blasiolo, son of ser Francesco, detto Cechi, of Villa de Tresiegola in the territory of Padua to ser Aloisio Fontana, son of the late Alberto, citizen of Venice.

35. Venice, 15 Nov. 1559. Latin. cm. 21 x 48. Sale of property by ser Bertolo Blasiolo, son of ser Francesco, detto Cechi, of Villa de Tresiegola in the territory of Padua to ser Aloisio Fontana, son of the late Alberto. At the bottom are two brief notes dated 20 Dec. 1559 and 14 July 1569.

36. Venice, 22 Nov. 1558. Latin. cm. 32 x 56. Sale of property by ser Antonino de Donneis, son of the late ser Meneghino, of Villa de Tresiegola in the territory of Padua to ser Aloisio Fontana, son of the late Alberto.

37. Venice, 26 April 1560. Latin. cm. 29 x 55. Property agreement between Filippo Tertio, *juris utriusque doctor*, son of the late ser Giovanni, and *doctor* Marco Antonio Lombardino, son of the late Paolo, *legum doctor*.

38. Padua, 18 Nov. 1504. Latin. cm. 16 x 42. Property agreement between Rev. P. frater Niccolò de Deodatis de Verona, prior of the monastery of the Crociferi in Padua, and Giovanni Domenico Spazario, chancellor of the Commune of Padua. Left edge badly torn.

39. Venice, 23 Oct. 1522. Latin. cm. 32 x 48. Sale of property by Antonio de Porcellinis, son of the late ser Leandro, *juris utriusque doctor* and citizen of Padua, to ser Giacomo Antonio Bocallario of the parish of San Barnaba in Venice.

40. Padua, 8 June 1464. Latin. cm. 29 x 62. Property settlement between ser Paolo Rato and Agostino Squara.

41. Padua, 21 Oct. 1465. Latin. cm. 26 x 44. Property settlement between ser Luigi de Fano, son of the late Simone, resident of Padua, and ser Antonio Barbarigo, son of the late Gabriele, citizen of Venice.

42. Padua, 20 Dec. 1441. Latin. cm. 35 x 67. Property agreement

involving Baldo and Giacomo Michele, sons and heirs of the late Bartolomeo Michele. Left edge torn.

43. Venice, 31 June 1469. Latin. cm. 19 x 26. Promissory note (?).
44. Venice (?), 26 Jan. 1638. Italian. cm. 16 x 23. Document regarding inheritance (?).
45. Padua, 28 June 1469. Latin. cm. 21 x 59. Sale of property by the Zapparini family to Gian Francesco de Priolis. Mention of Giovanni Antonio Contarini.
46. Padua, 21 March 1558. Latin. cm. 17 x 31. Property settlement involving Gian Francesco de Priolis.
47. Padua, 20 June 1558. Latin. cm. 19 x 52. Property agreement involving the Buzachareno family.
48. Padua, 22 Feb. 1497. Latin. cm. 12 x 56. Act of donation to various persons by Donna Dorotea, daughter of the late ser Antonio Mella, widow of ser Giovanni Andrea. Right edge badly worn.
49. Padua, 29 Feb. 1488. Latin. cm. 25 x 43. Property settlement.
50. Padua, 8 Jan. 1538. Latin. cm. 19 x 70. Purchase of property.
51. Padua, 20 Nov. 1489. Latin. cm. 20 x 49. Purchase of property. Right edge badly torn.
52. Padua, 11 Aug. 1533. Latin. cm. 17 x 38. Purchase of property in Castel Baldo.
53. Venice (?), (a) 30 March 1513 (?), (b) 23 May 1513. Latin. cm. 20 x 58. Purchase of property. Several brief notations dated 1537. Badly torn at top.
54. Padua, 28 Feb. 1555. Latin. cm. 25 x 65. Purchase of property.
55. Venice, 9 Jan. 1564. Latin. cm. 25 x 50. Sale of property by Santo Gattola, son of the late ser Pietro, of Villa Rosarie in the territory of Padua to ser Gian Francesco de Priolis, son of the late Zaccaria.
56. Padua, 11 March 1553. Latin. cm. 20 x 64. Purchase of property. Top badly wrinkled.
57. Venice (?), 24 Dec. 1636. Italian. cm. 16 x 27. Property settlement (?).
58. Conegliano (?), 1 Dec. 1637. Italian. cm. 18 x 22. Property settlement. Torn along right side.
59. Venice, 10 July 1638. Italian. cm. 23 x 47. Purchase of property.
60. Feltre, 17 Nov. 1636. Italian. cm. 13 x 34. Purchase of property.
61. Venice, 5 Feb. 1637. Italian. cm. 23 x 28. Inheritance settlement involving the Soderini family. Document badly torn on right side.
62. Venice, 20 Aug. 1539. Latin. cm. 28 x 19. Part of commercial agree-

ment with several additional notations. Badly torn, although partially repaired.

63. Treviso, 11 Nov. 1661. Italian. cm. 19 x 43. Purchase of property.
64. Venice, 31 July 1567. Latin. cm. 20 x 41. Sale of property by ser Benedetto Gattola, son of the late Mioti, of Villa Rosarie to ser Gian Francesco de Priolis, son of the late Zaccaria.
65. Padua, 18 Nov. 1560. Latin. cm. 19 x 49. Property agreement.
66. Padua, 17 Oct. 1550. Latin. cm. 27 x 66. Property agreement.
67. Padua, 24 Jan. 1548. Latin. cm. 27 x 72. Property agreement involving the Buzachareno family.
68. Venice, 12 Jan. 1566. Latin. cm. 17 x 45. Sale of property by ser Agostino Blasiolo, son of the late Battista, of Villa de Tresiegola in the territory of Padua to Francesco Fontana, son of the late Aloisio, citizen of Venice. Lengthy notations at the bottom.
69. Venice (?), 14 Nov. 1576. Latin. cm. 19 x 35. Sale of property in Villa dei Bladini by Antonio, son of the late Matteo Zusarini de Guarda, of Monte Belluna to Giovanni Niccolò Rozina, citizen of Treviso, son of the late Giacomo, citizen of Venice.
70. Venice, 25 Aug. 1575. Latin. cm. 14 x 61. Settlement of debt.
71. Venice, 2 Sept. 1561. Latin. cm. 19 x 47. Ser Aloisio de Tomasini, son of the late Domenico, sells property forming part of the estate of his late brother, Francesco de Tomasini, to ser Giacomo Barbarigo. Document torn in several places.
72. Venice (?), 27 June 1577. Latin. cm. 18 x 40. Inheritance settlement (?).
73. Venice, 14 April 1563. Latin. cm. 27 x 106. Purchase of property by ser Gian Francesco de Priolis. Copies of other documents included.
74. Venice, 14 May 1540. Latin. cm. 19 x 28. Sale of property by Michele Guiato, son of the late Lazaro, of Villa de Tresiegola to ser Aloisio Fontana, son of the late Alberto. Document badly torn.
75. Venice (?), 29 March 1576. Latin. cm. 8 x 34. Financial note.
76. Padua, 7 March 1563. Latin. cm. 21 x 44. Purchase of property.
77. Padua (?), 24 May 1561. Latin. cm. 21 x 28. Property agreement involving Condulmer family.
78. Venice, 12 May 1561. Latin. cm. 25 x 63. Sale of property by Aloisio Buzachareno, son of the late Matteo, resident of Padua to ser Gian Francesco de Priolis. Several notations at bottom.
79. Padua, 1 Sept. 1562. Latin. cm. 20 x 44. Purchase of property.
80. Padua, 27 Feb. 1563. Latin. cm. 24 x 53. Settlement of property dispute between Aloisio Buzachareno, son of the late Antonio, citizen of Padua, and Gian Francesco de Priolis.

81. Venice, 26 Aug. 1551. Latin. cm. 16 x 59. Property agreement.
82. Venice, 18 May 1569. Latin. cm. 34 x 54. Purchase of property by Gian Francesco de Priolis.
83. Venice (?), 11 Dec. 1577. Italian. cm. 18 x 22. Financial notes, apparently part of a financial journal with several notations in various hands.
84. Venice, 30 Dec. 1570. Italian. cm. 25 x 40 (ca.). Financial agreement. Odd shape, badly wrinkled and torn.
85. Venice, 23 Jan. 1576. Latin. cm. 19 x 43. Inheritance settlement in the de Priolis family.
86. Padua (?), 15 July 1578. Latin and Italian. cm. 30 x 69. Arrangement of dowry.
87. Venice, 15 Feb. 1567. Latin. cm. 26 x 83. Purchase of property involving the Buzachareno family. Two pieces of parchment glued together; several additional notations.
88. Venice, 3 Nov. 1565. Latin. cm. 21 x 54. Sale of property by Francesco Fontana, son of the late Aloisio, merchant of Ferro, to Gasparo Guiato, son of the late Niccolò, of Villa de Tresiegola.
89. Padua, 8 June 1464. Latin. cm. 22 x 58. Sale of property by Bartolomeo Rato, son of the late Francesco, to Antonio Barbarigo.
90. Padua, (a) 24 Feb. 1556, (b) 26 Feb. 1556. Latin. cm. 17 x 47. (a) Special commission by the Podestà of Padua. (b) Testimony to the execution thereof. Document rather faded.
91. Venice, 5 May 1607. Latin. cm. 18 x 21. Financial (inheritance ?) settlement.
92. Venice, . . . Aug. 1572. Latin. cm. 11 x 49. Left side of a property agreement cut in half from top to bottom.
93. Padua, 18 March 1542. Italian. cm. 17 x 56. Purchase of property.
94. Venice, 15 Jan. 1637. Italian. cm. 18 x 52. Property agreement involving the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice.
95. Padua, 21 Dec. 1562. Latin. cm. 18 x 43. Sale of property by Andrea Marchesini, son of the late Giovanni Maria, to Giovanni Masario, son of the late Pietro.
96. Padua, 23 March 1546. Latin. cm. 23 x 49. Property agreement.
97. Venice, (?), 8 May 1573. Latin. cm. 22 x 30. Property agreement with list of expenses.
98. Padua, 14 Oct. 1465. Latin. cm. 19 x 46. Property agreement between Luigi di Palazuoli, citizen of Padua, and Antonio Barbarigo, son of the late Gabriele, citizen of Venice.

99. Venice, 21 Aug. 1560. Latin. cm. 34 x 70. Sale of property by Antonio de Cumo, son of the late Francesco, citizen of Padua, to Gian Francesco de Priolis, son of the late Zaccaria.
100. Padua, 1 Aug. 1562. Latin. cm. 32 x 90. Property settlement involving the Buzachareno family made in the presence of several bishops and other ecclesiastics, including Cardinal Francesco Pisano, Bishop of Frascati, and administrator of the diocese of Padua. Document badly wrinkled.
101. Padua, 22 Oct. 1598. Latin. cm. 18 x 44. Property settlement regarding the diocese of Padua.
102. Venice, 12 May 1570. Latin. cm. 40 x 65. Purchase of property.
103. Venice, 17 Feb. 1574. Latin. cm. 19 x 58. Property agreement.
104. Mantua, 25 Sept. 1531 (?). Latin. cm. 21 x 57 (ca.). Property settlement (?). Document in extremely poor condition.
105. Treviso, 8 May 1540. Latin. cm. 12 x 42. Property settlement.
106. Venice, 21 Oct. 1572. Latin. cm. 25 x 74. Purchase of property.
107. Padua, 18 May 1556. Latin. cm. 28 x 70. Purchase of property.
108. . . ., 10 Dec. 1556. Latin. cm. 29 x 40. Purchase of property involving the monastery of Pollicini.
109. Venice (?), 22 Oct. 1546. Latin. cm. 14 x 47. Property agreement.
110. Venice (?), 5 Oct. 1546. Latin. cm. 17 x 26. Payment of debt.
111. Venice, 10 Dec. 1546. Latin. cm. 15 x 35. Purchase of property.
112. . . ., 18 Jan. 1539. Latin. cm. 16 x 24. Financial settlement.
113. Venice, 22 Jan. 1540. Latin. cm. 18 x 60. Property agreement.
114. Verona, 9 June 1539. Latin. cm. 22 x 57. Purchase of property.
115. Venice, 13 April 1535. Latin. cm. 21 x 82. Document regarding property in Padua involving the Gallo, Michele and Barbarigo families.
116. Venice (?), 3 Jan. 1525. Latin. cm. 15 x 31. Property agreement (?).
117. Padua, 16 Feb. 1536. Latin. cm. 15 x 40. Purchase of property.
118. Venice, 18 Sept. 1536. Latin. cm. 38 x 62. Purchase of property involving the Barbarigo family, with several other documents dating from 1536 to 1541. Badly torn.
119. Venice, 18 Feb. 1537. Latin. cm. 30 x 82. Property settlement in Montagnana involving Alessandro Floriani.
120. Venice, 3 Dec. 1538. Latin. cm. 34 x 54. Purchase of property in Montagnana by Alessandra Floriani.

121. Padua (?), ... 1409. Latin. cm. 39 x 58 (ca). Purchase of property in Castel Baldo involving the Michele family. Document very badly torn at top right.

122. Venice, 8 Feb. 1511. Latin. cm. 28 x 46. Property agreement.

123. Castel Baldo. 28 Feb. 1425. Latin. cm. 14 x 43. Property agreement. Several holes in the document.

124. Rhodes, 14 Nov. 1430. Latin and Italian dialect. cm. 24 x 37. Sale of a slave named Maria by ser Niccolò Doria, Genoese merchant, acting on behalf of his brother, Rafaele Doria, to ser Piero Barbarigo, citizen of Venice.

125. Padua, 9 Dec. 1433. Latin. cm. 28 x 64. Property agreement.

126. Venice, 24 Jan. 1436. Latin. cm. 22 x 40. Property agreement.

127. Padua, ... Jan. 1435. Latin. cm. 26 x 43. Purchase of property in Castel Baldo. Document badly torn and faded.

128. Padua, 7 July 1437. Latin. cm. 15 x 37. Settlement for property damage.

129. Padua, 10 Oct. 1436. Latin. cm. 16 x 56. Rental of a house for nine years by Giacomo Michele, *legum doctor*, son of the late Bartolomeo, for himself and his brother, Baldo.

130. Corfu, 15-20 May, 1501. Latin. cm. 45 x 39. Pier Leone, Baillie and Captain of Corfu, settles a controversy involving Adriana, widow of Francesco de Altavilla.

131. Padua (?), 20 March 1513. Latin. cm. 14 x 33. Property settlement regarding Castello del Campo Santa Spirito.

132. Padua, 16 Oct. 1503. Latin. cm. 18 x 40. Document of procuratorship (?).

133. Motha, 4 July 1504. Latin. cm. 28 x 42. Property agreement.

134. Venice, 18 Sept. 1505. Latin. cm. 16 x 30. Laura, daughter of the late Antonio Barbarigo and widow of Aloisio Contarini, designates her brothers, Gabriele and Giovanni Barbarigo, as her procurators.

135. Venice (?), 26 July 1516. Latin. cm. 17 x 47. Agreement regarding marriage and dowry.

136. Padua, 15 May 1506. Latin. cm. 18 x 65. Commercial agreement.

137. Padua, 7 Sept. 1508. Latin. cm. 22 x 74. Purchase of property involving the Barbarigo family. Document in poor condition.

138. Castel Baldo, 10 Feb. 1508. Latin. cm. 20 x 32. Purchase of property by Giovanni Contarini.

139. Padua, 7 Oct. 1508. Latin. cm. 26 x 48. Last will and testament (?).

140. Padua, 19 Sept. 1503. Latin. cm. 20 x 33. Purchase of property in Castel Baldo. Document in poor condition.

141. Venice, 18 June 1512. Latin. cm. 16 x 26. Designation of procurator by Donna Violante Loredan.

142. Venice, 1 Feb. 1512. Latin. cm. 25 x 66. Aloisio Contarini purchases property from Franceschina and Paola de Raynerio, sisters.

143. Venice, 10 (?) Oct. 1515. Latin. cm. 29 x 76. Sale of property by Giovanni Contarini to Marco Venier.

144. Venice, 15 Jan. 1517. Latin. cm. 15 x 45. Financial agreement between Gerolamo Barbarigo and Rev. P. Giovanni Francesco Ottobono, prior of the monastery of San Antonio in Venice.

145. Venice, 31 Aug. 1500. Latin. cm. 27 x 34. Property agreement involving the Marcello family.

146. Venice, 24 March 1578. Italian. cm. 14 x 24. Financial settlement.

147. Venice, 17 Feb. 1582. Italian. cm. 37 x 46. Property agreement involving the Marcello family. Document in poor condition.

148. Venice, 27 Oct. 1580. Italian. cm. 29 x 62. Financial agreement.

149. Venice (?), 13 July 1517. Latin. cm. 12 x 37. Document regarding inheritance in the Barbarigo family.

150. Venice, 15 April 1519. Latin. cm. 14 x 34. Designation of a procurator; Barbarigo family.

151. Venice, 5 Sept. 1519. Latin. cm. 17 x 32. Property settlement.

152. Venice, 14 June 1520. Latin. cm. 16 x 30. Ser Sebastiano Moro (?), about to depart for Cyprus, designates as his procurators in Venice ser Vittore Barbarigo, ser Stefano Tiepolo, and ser Giacomo Barbarigo.

153. Venice, 26 June 1586. Latin. cm. 19 x 70. Financial document regarding the Barbarigo family.

154. Venice, (a) 28 Nov. 1589, (b) 1 June 1611. (a) Latin, (b) Italian. cm. 19 x 51. Property settlements.

155. Venice, (a) 10 Oct. 1586, (b) 13 Nov. 1592. Italian. cm. 19 x 44. Settlement of dowry in the Barbarigo family.

156. Venice, 1 Oct. 1605. Italian. cm. 34 x 49. Property agreement.

157. Venice, 2 July 1607. Italian. cm. 34 x 50. Financial agreement involving Signora Lucrezia Barbarigo, widow of Gianluigi Barbarigo.

158. Venice, 6 March 1608. Italian. cm. 27 x 61. Financial agreement made by ser Gionvanni Venier as procurator for Signora Lucrezia Barbarigo. Another document dealing with the same matter, dated 6 May 1624, is pasted on the bottom.

159. Venice, 6 Aug. 1609. Italian. cm. 18 x 45. Purchase of property by Signora Lucrezia Barbarigo.

160. Venice, 1 June . . . . Italian. cm. 24 x 50. Financial agreement

between Signora Lucrezia Barbarigo and a convent of nuns in Venice. Another document dealing with the same matter, dated 23 June 1625, is pasted on the bottom. Both documents are very badly torn.

161. Venice, 28 Jan. 1622. Italian. cm. 19 x 17. Financial note.
162. Venice, 11 Feb. 1620. Italian. cm. 19 x 44. Financial document.
163. Venice (?), (a) 22 Jan. 1425, (b) 17 July 1430. Latin. cm. 15 x 53. Property agreements with several notarial additions.
164. Treviso, 7 Feb. 1443 (1444 ?). Latin. cm. 23 x 55. Property agreement involving the Barbarigo family.
165. Padua, 14 May. . . . Latin. cm. 19 x 28. Financial agreement involving ser Antonio Barbarigo, son of the late Gabriele.
166. Venice, 13 Jan. 1426. Latin. cm. 14 x 28. Sale of a Russian slave named Maria by ser Luigi Loredan, son of the late Giovanni, to ser Gabriele Barbarigo, son of the late Antonio.
167. Conegliano, 8 Dec. 1406. Latin. cm. 28 x 68. Property settlement.
168. Venice, 3 Nov. 1565. Latin. cm. 21 x 55. Property agreement between Francesco Fontana and Gasparo Guiato.

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 Pollicini, monastery: 108

# The Capture of Thebes by the Navarrese (6 March 1378) and other Chronological Notes in two Paris Manuscripts

Of the nine chronological notes printed below the first seven are found on fol. 126<sup>v</sup> of *ms. grec 445*, and the last two on fol. 248 of *ms. grec 1530* in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Notes 5 and 9 have been published by D. A. Zakythinos<sup>(1)</sup>. The others, as far as I know, are edited here for the first time. Although the subject matter of the notes varies greatly in nature and importance, some of them being of little interest to the historian, nonetheless for the sake of completeness, it seems best to publish or republish all the notes that are legible.

*Cod. Paris. gr. 445* (perg., s. xiv, ff. 126; Medic.-Reg. 2268) contains works of Dionysius the Areopagite with scholia attributed to St Maximus. The last page, fol. 126<sup>v</sup>, is covered with notations in various hands; there have been many erasures and much re-writing so that, even with an ultra-violet light, a good number of the notations are quite illegible. Notices 1 and 5 are in black ink while the others are in a faded brownish one. The first few lines of notice 5 have been written out three times; apparently the scribe was testing his pen<sup>(2)</sup>.

*Cod. Paris. gr. 1530* (perg., s. xii-xiii, ff. 248; Reg. 2021) contains lives of a number of saints. The last of these, that of St Gregory Thaumaturgus, which begins on fol. 211, comes to an end on fol. 248, occupying half a column on the left side of the page. Notices 8 and 9 are written on the upper half of the right

<sup>(1)</sup> D. A. ZAKYTHINOS, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, II (Athènes, 1953), 141, n. 1 and 142, n. 4.

<sup>(2)</sup> He has also written two rows of Z's across the middle of the page.

side, while the lower half of the page contains, written straight across, further remarks on St Gregory.

According to their contents the notes published here fall into three categories. Numbers 2 and 6 record events of strictly chronological and liturgical interest: Easter of the year 1380<sup>(1)</sup> and the beginning of the fast 'of the holy Apostles' in 1403. Notes 3, 4 and 7 register legal transactions. The reference to witnesses (in no. 3 and 4) and to the writer, who acted as notary (in no. 7), suggest that these brief documents are legal instruments, entered in a book instead of being written on separate sheets<sup>(2)</sup>. Finally, notes 1, 5, 8 and 9 record briefly some events of general interest: the capture of Thebes by a band of adventurers from Navarre, called the 'White Company'; the attack on Corinth by the Turks, allied with the Thebans, Athenians and Megarans; the death of Antonio Acciajuoli, second Florentine Duke of Athens; the victory of Turakhan over the Greek princes Constantine and Thomas Palaeologus near the Hexamilion in the Isthmus of Corinth. The last two events and their dates were already known. The attack on Corinth in 1403, which is not found in any other published source, belongs to the wars of succession which followed upon the death of Nerio I Acciajuoli, Duke of Athens and Lord of Corinth, in 1394<sup>(3)</sup>.

Antonio I Acciajuoli, illegitimate son of Nerio, whose will had given him the lordship of Livadia and Thebes, had just taken Athens from the Venetians at the beginning of 1403<sup>(4)</sup>. The attack against

<sup>(1)</sup> When Easter coincides with the feast of the Annunciation, 25 March, it is called τὸ Πάσχα τὸ κύριον or κύριον Πάσχα, and special rubrics are to be followed. The last instance of this before 1380, the year given in note 2, was in the year 1296 and the next one was not until 1459. Cf. the Byzantine *Typika* edited by A. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie Liturgiĭeskikh Rukopisej Khranjaščikhsja v Bibliotekakh Pravoslavnago Vostoka*, I (Kiev, 1895), p. 59; 853: III (Kiev, 1917), p. 269; 703. The Slavic Church also employed the Greek term, 'Kuriopaskha', to designate this occurrence. Cf. Serbian Annals cited in the notes to notice 2; also K. NIKOLSKIJ, *Posobie k Izučeniju Ustava Bogosluženija* (St Petersburg, 1907), p. 628.

<sup>(2)</sup> On this type of documentation cf. G. FERRARI DALLE SPADE, «Registro Vaticano di atti bizantini di diritto privato», *Studi bizantini e Neellenici* 4 (1935), 249-267, esp. p. 254.

<sup>(3)</sup> D. A. ZAKYTHINOS, *op. cit.*, I (Paris, 1932), 143-145; K. SETTON, *Catalan Domination of Athens* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), 198-199.

<sup>(4)</sup> SETTON, *op. cit.*, 202.

Corinth of 7 June was directed against the Hospitallers, to whom the city had been sold by Theodore, Despot in the Morea, in 1397<sup>(1)</sup>. The treaty of 9 March 1403 between John VII Palaeologus and Soleiman, son of the Turkish Emir Bajezid, had recognized also their possession of Salona (Amphissa), another place which had formed part of the French and Catalan Duchy of Athens<sup>(2)</sup>. At the time of this attack, then, Athens and Thebes were ruled by the Acciajuoli; Megara also would seem to have belonged to the same family, for it had been left by Nerio Acciajuoli in his will in 1394 to his daughter Francesca, wife of Carlo Tocco, Duke of Leucadia<sup>(3)</sup>. Sometime later the Knights of St John thought of acquiring the city. On 5 July 1399 Philibert de Naillac nominated Elie de Fossat, already captain of Corinth, to negotiate with Theodore, Despot in the Morea, for the acquisition of Megara ('le Megre') of which he was also to become the captain<sup>(4)</sup>. However, there is no indication that the Knights actually held the city, a fact which would seem to be confirmed by notice 5. Tocco must have pressed his wife's claim to Megara for there is a Venetian document of 12 November 1400 showing that he did obtain possession of the city soon after the death of Nerio Acciajuoli in 1394<sup>(5)</sup>. He was still holding it on 7 July 1401 when he wished to sell it to the Venetians who, however, were not greatly interested<sup>(6)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> R. J. LOENERTZ, « Pour l'histoire du Péloponnèse au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle (1382-1404) », *Revue des Études Byzantines* 1 (1943), 152-196, esp. 187. On 4 June 1404 Corinth was returned to Theodore: S. LAMPROS - K. AMANTOS, *Βασιλεία Χρονικά* (Athens, 1932), 27,38 (p. 47); LOENERTZ, *op. cit.*, 195; J. DELAVILLE - LE ROULX, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes jusqu'à la mort de Philibert de Naillac 1310-1421* (Paris, 1913), 301.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Mélanges Historiques, Choix de Documents*, III, Commerce et Expéditions militaires de la France et de Venise au moyen âge, ed. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1880), no. 22, p. 178-182.

<sup>(3)</sup> SETTON, *Catalan Domination*, 198.

<sup>(4)</sup> ROYAL MALTA LIBRARY, *Archives of the Order of St John*, cod. 330, fol. 118<sup>v</sup>-119. I am indebted to Mr. Anthony T. Luttrell for this information. Relying on the incomplete citation of this document by Hopf and Delaville-Le Roulx, R. J. Loenertz, after pointing out their mistake in referring it to the purchase of Corinth, suggested that Kalavryta might have been the town under discussion, *op. cit.*, 188.

<sup>(5)</sup> VENICE, *Archivio di Stato, Lettere di Rettori*, no. 76.

<sup>(6)</sup> Deliberation of the Venetian Senate, ed. C. N. SATHAS, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge* (Paris, 1881), II, doc. 244, p. 37.

Clearly the most important of these chronological notes is the first which records the occupation of Thebes, capital of the Catalan Duchy of Athens, by the Navarrese under the command of John de Urtubia (Ortuvia). The fact of the capture and a number of details about it were already known<sup>(1)</sup>. What was not known was the precise date and it is this which gives this notice its particular significance. "On March sixth of the first indiction, in the year 6886 [1378], the Navarrese, also called the White Company, entered Thebes of the seven gates at the ninth hour of the night, on Friday". A few words, therefore, about this event and the consequences of this hitherto unknown information should not be out of place here.

In summer 1376 four companies of Navarrese and Gascon soldiers of fortune captured Durazzo on behalf of Louis of Evreux, Count of Beaumont-le-Roger and husband of Joanna of Sicily, Angevin Duchess of Durazzo and claimant to the Kingdom of Albania<sup>(2)</sup>. A year later these mercenaries were still in Durazzo<sup>(3)</sup>. At an unknown date between summer 1377 and autumn 1379 two of the companies, the one commanded by Mahiot de Coquerel and the other by John de Urtubia, entered for a period of eight months the service of the Hospitallers, tenants of the Principality of Achaea<sup>(4)</sup>. After the expiration of this term they remained in the country, which they held, first in the name of Joanna I of Naples, then in that of Jacques de Baux, Latin Emperor of Constantinople and Prince of Achaea<sup>(5)</sup>.

On 13 September 1379 Peter IV of Aragon, Duke of Athens, recommended to the Doge of Venice, Andrea Contarini, his subjects, Franks and Greeks, who had taken refuge in Negropont<sup>(6)</sup>. Other letters of the same King make it clear that these refugees had fled from Thebes which had fallen into the hands of an armed band

<sup>(1)</sup> Probably the best account with abundant references is given by SETTON, *Catalan Domination*, chapter 8, p. 125-148.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 125-126.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 126; A. RUBIÓ I LLUCH, *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català* (Barcelona, 1947), doc. 365-366, p. 449-450 (hereafter referred to as D.O.C.).

<sup>(4)</sup> R. J. LOENERTZ, « Hospitaliers et Navarrais en Grèce, 1376-1383, Regestes et Documents », *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 22 (1956), doc. I; no. 13, p. 352, no. 28-30, p. 353.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, reg. 38, p. 340.

<sup>(6)</sup> D.O.C. 378, p. 459.



of Navarrese <sup>(1)</sup>. On 10 September 1380 he reproached the Grand Master of the Hospital for aiding the invader, John de Urtubia, who was occupying the city of Thebes, capital of his Duchy of Athens <sup>(2)</sup>. None of these documents gives the exact date of the capture of Thebes which historians have tended to place in spring 1379 <sup>(3)</sup>. This supposition would allow Urtubia to have completed his eight months' service with the Hospital before attacking Thebes, thus absolving the Knights of all responsibility <sup>(4)</sup>. The new date, 6 March 1378, however, furnished by the notice under examination, invalidates that supposition and imposes a reinterpretation of the sources dealing with the Navarrese invasion of the Catalan Duchy of Athens and with Urtubia's connection with the Hospitalers and with Nerio Acciajuoli. For example, the departure of the Navarrese Company from Albania and its arrival in Greece would now seem to have been earlier than formerly supposed. This notice would also suggest that Urtubia's attack against Thebes may probably have taken place before his connection with John Fernandez de Heredia, Grand Master of the Knights, and before his term of service with the order. Historians must also reconsider the role played by Louis d'Enghien, Count of Conversano, who apparently attacked the Catalans in 1378 <sup>(5)</sup>.

The extant sources offer no serious difficulty to this new dating. Indeed, very little is known about either Catalans or

<sup>(1)</sup> D.O.C. 380, p. 460, dated 13.IX.1379; 384, p. 465, dated 19.X.1379.

<sup>(2)</sup> D.O.C. 400, p. 489.

<sup>(3)</sup> E. g. SETTON, *Catalan Domination*, 129; R. J. LOENERTZ, «Athènes et Néopatras, Regestes et Notices pour servir à l'histoire des Duchés Catalans (1311-1394)», *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 25 (1955), reg. 144, p. 137-138; Idem, «Hospitaliers et Navarrais en Grèce», *Or. Chr. Per.* 22 (1956), reg. 12, p. 332; A. RUBIÓ y LLUCH, «Conquista de Tebas en 1379 por Juan de Urtubia», *Académie Roumaine: Bulletin de la section historique, Congrès de Byzantinologie de Bucarest, Mémoires*, 11 (1924), 179. The same article is reprinted in *Los Catalanes en Grecia* (Madrid, 1927), 82; G. MERCATI, *Se la versione dall'Ebraico del Codice Veneto greco VII sia di Simone Atumano arcivescovo di Tebe* (= *Studi e Testi* 30; Roma, 1916), 34.

<sup>(4)</sup> LOENERTZ, «Hospitaliers et Navarrais», reg. 12, p. 332.

<sup>(5)</sup> D.O.C. 714, p. 744-745. Cf. SETTON, *Catalan Domination*, 136. This entire matter, which is quite obscure, is now being studied by Mr. Anthony T. Luttrell.

Navarrese in the years 1377-1378 <sup>(1)</sup>. The chronological data of the notice are exact except that in 1378 March 6 was a Saturday. Perhaps this confusion is caused by the fact that the event narrated occurred at night, probably Friday night, March 5 (the same manner of dating seems to be used in notice 9).

## TEXT

*Cod. Paris. gr. 445, fol. 126v*

I

6 Martii 1378

Μηνὶ μαρτ(ίῳ) ζ', ἰνδικτιῶνος α', ἔτει ,ζωπς', ἐσέβησαν οἱ Ἀναβαρέζοι ἐν Θήβαις ἐπταπύλαις, λέγεται καὶ κουμπανία μπλάγκα, ὥρα θ' τῆς νυκτός, ἡμέρα παρασκευῆ.

2

25 Martii et 20 Maii 1380

... ὅτε τὸ ἅγιον Π(άσ)χ(α) τὸ κύριον ἔτυχεν· ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἔτει ,ζωπη', (σελήνης) κύκλος ι', (ἡλίου) κύκλος <κη>· <ἄρ>χεται <ή> Ἀπόκρεως τῶν Ἀγίων Πάντων, ματῶ κ'· ἔστιν ἡ συνήθ(εια), ἄρχομεν τροπάριον τὸ αἰωθινὸν α' καὶ ἤχον πλ(άγιον) δ', καὶ ἔκτοτε κρατῶμεν τὸν ὅρον τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

1. ,ζωπς': secundum ζ correctum ex littera quae legi nequit.

2. Πάσχα τὸ κύριον: S. LAMPROS-K. AMANTOS, *Βραχέα Χρονικά* (Athens, 1932), 19,14 (p. 36); 27,19 (p. 46); 47,74 (p. 82); *Serbische Annalen*, ed. J. BOGDAN, *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 13 (1891), p. 521. ἀπόκρεως τῶν Ἀγίων Πάντων: jejunium quod durat a feria secunda post dominicam Sanctorum Omnium (i.e. dominicam primam post Pentecosten) usque ad festum SS. Petri et Pauli. ἄρχετε: (vel ἔχετε - difficile est lectu) forsitan pro ἄρχεται vel ἄρχομεν. αἰωθινόν: sic, pro ἑωθινόν, i.e. τροπάριον ἑωθινόν, «tropaïre qui est chanté à la fin de l'office de l'aurore, c'est-à-dire des Laudes». I. CLUGNET, *Dictionnaire Grec-Français des noms liturgiques en usage dans l'Eglise grecque* (Paris, 1895), 60. τροπάριον: Inc. Σὲ τὸν ἀπρόσιτον Θεόν; cf. infra, no. 6.

<sup>(1)</sup> Only five documents for these two years are given in D.O.C.: 365-369, p. 449-452.

3 10 Novembris 1381

Ἐδωσα Μανοῆλ τοῦ Ἐξεδακτύλου τὸ τέλος τοῦ ἀμπελίου σόλδια δ' τὸν νοέμβριον μῆναν, Ἰνδικτιῶνος ε', εἰς μαρτυρίαν ἱερέως τοῦ Μάγου· τῇ ι' τοῦ μηνός, ἡμέρα α'.

4 7 Septembris 1382 (?)

Σεπτ(εμβ)ρίου ζ' ἔλαβεν πάλιν ὁ Μανοῆλ τὸ τέλ(ος) τοῦ ἀμπελ(ίου) σόλδι δ'· εἰς μαρτ(υρίαν) Γεωργίου τοῦ Ντερουλῖα καὶ ἱερέως τοῦ Γλαβᾶ.

5 7 Junii 1403

Ἐν ἔτει ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ ς' λια', Ἰνδικτιῶνος ια', ἐνώθησαν μετὰ τοὺς Τούρκους οἱ Θηβαῖοι, μετὰ τοὺς Μεγαρίτας καὶ μετὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ἐκούρσευσαν τὴν Κόρινθον καὶ τὰ ἄφνω καὶ ἐποίησαν μεγάλην ζημίαν εἰς ζῶα καὶ εἰς ἀνθρώπους· ἰουνί(ω) ζ'.

6 10 Junii 1403

Εἰς δὲ τὰς ι' τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἰουνί(ου) ἔτυχεν ἡ Ἀπόκρ(εως) τῶν Ἀγίων Πάντων κατὰ τὴν συνήθ(ειαν), αἰωθινὸν α', ἡχος πλ(άγιος) δ'· « Σὲ τὸν ἀπρόσιτον Θεὸν καὶ Βασιλέα τῆς δόξης ἐπὶ θρόνου ὑψηλοῦ Ἰσαῖα κατίδεν ὑψηλοῦ καὶ Χεροβίμ καὶ Σεραφίμ δοξάζοντα ἀκαταπαύστοις ὕμνοις Μοναδικὸν <τρισυπόστατον>. »

5. Partem istius notae scriba repetiit ter, calamum tentando. Semel ante Ἀθηναίους addidit βριαροχείρας, quod utique in fonte, unde totum hausit, invenerit.

6. Σὲ τὸν ἀπρόσιτον... (alia manu) Troparion quod canitur dominica in officio mediae noctis, μεσονυκτικόν, ᾧδὴ γ'. Ὀκτώηχος (Romae, 1886), 126. Non est idem ac ἑωθινόν quod canitur ad Laudes, et pertinet ad primum tonum, non ad quartum plagalem. ἐπὶ θρόνον... textus impressus in Octoecho citato sic sonat, « ἐπὶ θρόνου Ἰσαῖα κατεῖδεν ὑψηλοῦ... ». κατίδεν: sic, pro κατεῖδεν. Χεροβίμ: sic, pro Χεροβίμ.

7 24 Martii 1429

Ἐσέβη εἰς τὴν κάμαραν Μιχ(α)ήλ μαρτίω κδ', ἐπὶ ἔτους ς' λλζ', Ἰνδικτιῶνος ζ', τῇ ἀγ(ία) καὶ μεγ(ά)λῃ (Πέμπτῃ), τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ὁδηγήσει ἡμᾶς εἰς πᾶσαν ἀλήθειαν τοῖς ποιοῦσιν τὰς ἐντολάς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ. ἐγράφη διὰ χειρὸς κάμου τοῦ Μιχ(α)ήλ.

Cod. Paris. gr. 1530, fol. 248

8 13 Julii 1435

Τῷ ς' λμγ' ἔτει, Ἰνδικτιῶνος ιγ', μηνὶ ἰουλ(ίῳ) ιγ', ἀπέθανεν ὁ εὐγενὴς καὶ τετιμημένος αὐθέντης Ἀθηνῶν, μίσερ Νέριος Ἀντωνίος Τὸ Ἀστζαῖόλη· καὶ ἐκράτησεν τὴν αὐθεντίαν μίσερ Νέριος ὁ Φράνγκος, ἀνεψιὸς αὐτοῦ.

9 3-10 Decembris 1446

Τῷ ς' λνε' ἔτει, Ἰνδικτιῶνος ι', (ἡλίου) κύκλος ια', (σελήνης) κύκλος ιθ', μηνὶ δεκέμβρου γ', ἡμέρα σά(ββατον), ἦλθον οἱ ἄθροιοι Μουσουλμάνοι εἰς τὸ Ἐξαμήλιον Κορίνθου καὶ ἤτον ὁ ἀμειρᾶς καὶ ὁ μπασιᾶς καὶ ὁ Τουραχάνης μετὰ φωσάτου χιλιάδων πεντήκοντα. εἶτον δὲ ἐκεῖσαι καὶ ὁ δεσπότης Μωραῖως, ὁ κύρ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Παλαιολόγος, καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ κύρ Θωμᾶς καὶ ὅλοι οἱ ἄρχοντες οἱ Μωραῖται, καὶ ὅλον τὸ μωραῖτικον φωσάττον πολλὰ λίαν. καὶ ἐπολέμιζον μετὰ τῶν Τούρκων τῆς παρασκευῆς ὅλην τὴν νύκταν δε(κέμ)βρου ι', καὶ ἀπέβλεπεν ἡ νίκη πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. ἐξημερώσοντα δὲ τὸ σάββατ(ον), ἐτράπησαν

8. Βραχέα Χρονικά, 29,42 (p. 54); 9,16 (p. 17); Laonicus Chalcocondyles, *Historiarum Demonstrationes*, ed. E. Darkó (Budapestini, 1922-1927), II, 93-94; SPHRANTZES, *Chronicon Minus*, MIGNE, *Patrologia Graeca* 156, 1044 B. Cf. K. SETTON, *Catalan Domination of Athens* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), 204-206; W. MILLER, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921), 146. Νέριος ὁ Φράνγκος: Nerio II; « ὁ Νέρης ὁ Ἀτζιάβολος... δοῦκας τῆς Ἀθήνας, Φράνγκος Φιορεντίνος, ». Χρονικὸν περὶ τῶν Τούρκων Σουλτάνων, ed. G. Zoras (Athenis, 1958), p. 71, 5.

9. Βραχέα Χρονικά, 4,7-8 (p. 7); 8,17 (p. 12); 9,19-22 (p. 17); 11,16 (p. 24); 16,9 (p. 33); 20,11-12 (p. 37); 21,10 (p. 38); 26,6 (p. 46) 27,77-83 (p. 48); 28,31 (p. 53); 29,45-47 (p. 54); 30,20 (p. 56); 31,14 (p. 58); 36,17-18

εἰς φυγὴν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἔλαβον θάρσος οἱ Τούρκοι, καὶ ἐσέβησαν οἱ Τούρκοι καὶ ἐδίωξαν καὶ ἐκοψαν αὐτούς, καὶ ἐγίνεται θρῆνος καὶ οὐαὶ πολὺ εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. ὦ τί θρῆνος γέγονε.

(p. 63); 37,13 (p. 64); 40,1 (p. 67); 42,32 (p. 69); Chalcocandyles, II, 112-117 (Darkó); SPHRANTZES, *Chron. Minus*, 1051 B; *Ducæ Historia Turcobyzantina*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), c. 32, 7: p. 279,5-13; ed. Bonn, p. 223, 3-14; *Χρονικὸν Τούρκ. Σουλτάνων*, p. 74-75; *Chronicon breve*, ed. R. J. LOENERTZ, 'Επετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν 28 (1958), cap. 27, p. 213. σελήνης κύκλος ιθ': debet legi α'; ιθ' fuisse anni praecedentis. Ἐξαμήλιον: murus defensionis in isthmo Corinthi a Manuele II Palaeologo exstructus anno 1415, a Turcis anno 1423 destructus et rursus anno 1443 a Constantino Palaeologo, Despoto Moreae, restauratus. Cf. D. A. ZAKYTHINOS, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, I (Parisiis, 1932), 232-235; II (Athenis, 1953), 141-143. ὁ ἀμειράς: Murad II. Τουρχάνης: Dux exercitus Ottomanorum (m. 1456). Cf. GY. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantino-turcica*, Berolini, 1958<sup>2</sup>, II, 319. χιλιάδων πεντήκοντα: sex mille secundum alios; Chalcocandyles, II, 114,3; *Χρονικὸν Τούρκ. Σουλτ.*, p. 74,27; *Βραχέα Χρονικά* 27,78 (p. 48).

# THE CORRESPONDENCE OF RODOLFO DE SANCTIS, CANON OF PATRAS, 1386

In the winter of 1384-1385 Rodolfo de Sanctis, who had recently received his doctorate in Canon Law, set sail from Venice to take up residence as a member of the cathedral chapter of Patras in Greece. Before his death four years later, Rodolfo had accomplished nothing of great importance and would be of little interest to scholars were it not for a few letters he wrote from Greece to a friend in Venice.<sup>1</sup> Although these letters deal chiefly with personal matters, they contain several items of historical interest and, more important, they provide a glimpse into the life and activities of a Latin cleric in Greece during the late Middle Ages. Not only do they paint a portrait of Rodolfo himself, but they also tell us a great deal about the type of man who staffed the remote Eastern dioceses. In this lies their value, for our knowledge of the Western Church in the Levant during this period is so imperfect that any added documentation assumes an importance sometimes out of proportion to its intrinsic worth.

Although the Byzantine reconquest of Constantinople in 1261 put an end to the Latin Empire and Patriarchate, Latin dioceses continued to exist in large areas of central and southern Greece where western rulers held sway. In theory at least, the Latin Church in Romania was organized along the lines of the Greek Church, whose place it was meant to fill.<sup>2</sup> In practice it

<sup>1</sup> I would like to express my appreciation to Miss Bianca Strina of the State Archives in Venice for her kindness in informing me of the documents published here and for her assistance in discovering other relevant material. — The following abbreviations will be used in these notes:

Arch. Ven. = Venice, Archivio di Stato.

Cicogna, *Inscrizioni Veneziane* = Emmanuele Cicogna, *Inscrizioni Veneziane raccolte ed illustrate* (6 vols. Venice 1824-1853).

Cornelius, *Eccl. Ven.* = Flaminio Cornelius (Corner), *Ecclesiae Venetae antiquis monumentis illustratae* (14 vols. Venice 1749 ss.).

Eubel, *Hier. Cath.* = Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica medii aevi* I (2nd ed. Münster 1913).

Gerland, *Neue Quellen* = Ernst Gerland, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Erzbistums Patras* (Leipzig 1903).

Thiriet, *Régestes* = Freddy Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie*, I (Paris-La Haye 1958).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Robert L. Wolff, 'The Organization of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204-1261,' *Traditio* 6 (1948) 33-60; R. J. Loenertz, 'Athènes et Néopatras, Regestes et Documents pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des Duchés Catalans (1311-1395),' *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 28 (1958) 5-91, esp. 5-6.

was a church without roots. Living off the revenues gathered from a hostile or, at best, indifferent population, it ministered to the spiritual needs of Spanish or Italian feudal lords, soldiers and merchants. Perhaps it can best be likened to a sort of ecclesiastical colonial service. Some of its clerics could remain at home enjoying the income from their overseas benefices, while those who actually went to reside in Romania faced the dangers of a sea voyage and the insecurity of life in a strange land constantly under threat of attack by pirates or Turks. On the other hand, a prelacy or canon's stall in Greece was not without its advantages: ecclesiastical discipline was less strict and the prospects of advancement seem to have been better. Rodolfo de Sanctis, for example, considered his service in Patras as a stepping stone to a position in the papal curia, possibly to a bishopric, and it is a fact that Latin canons in Romania frequently served as papal nuncios and collectors.<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps the most important Latin diocese in Greece was Patras, for its archbishop was a powerful and influential feudal lord, vassal of the Holy See and a peer of the Principality of Achaia.<sup>4</sup> In the administration of his spiritual and temporal realm he was assisted by his cathedral chapter, among whose members from 1384 to 1387 was the Venetian Doctor of Law, Rodolfo de Sanctis. After Rodolfo's death in 1388 the legal officials of Venice, the *Procuratori di San Marco*, gathered together his papers and saw to the execution of his will. These papers are still preserved in the State Archives of Venice in the series, *Atti dei Procuratori di San Marco*, under the heading, *Busta 62, Commissaria Rodolfo de Sanctis*.<sup>5</sup> Since most of these documents are ordinary legal instruments, we will here limit ourselves to the four letters Rodolfo wrote to Pietro Spirito in 1386. Before presenting them, however, it seems well to give a summary description of the contents of *Busta 62* and then to reconstruct, as far as possible, the known facts about Rodolfo himself; the text of the letters will then be followed by a brief commentary. (The numbering of the paragraphs has been supplied by the editor.)

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE DOCUMENTS

*Busta 62* contains four white paper folders: (1) *Lettere di Rodolfo de Sanctis*, (2) *Lettere a Rodolfo de Sanctis*, (3) *Lettera a Pietro Chorozaits*, (4) *Note di*

<sup>3</sup> For example, during the second half of the fourteenth century: Nicola de Mercatellis, Canon of Patras, Paolo de Planta, Canon of Patras, Bartolomeo de Roma, Canon of Negropont, Bartolomeo de Thomariis, Canon of Smyrna and Candia, Antonio, Canon of Corfu, Nicola de Baris, Canon of Crete, Guglielmo de Fragapani, Canon of Lepanto.

<sup>4</sup> The basic work on Latin Patras is still Gerland, *Neue Quellen*.

<sup>5</sup> At present, and for some time to come, this series is in process of reclassification, so that the above citation cannot be considered definitive.

*Conto*. There are also a number of legal documents on parchment and a bound copy of the *Commissaria* of Rodolfo, that is, the record of the administration of his will by the executors (*commissarii*).

(1) *Lettere di Rodolfo de Sanctis*. This folder contains six letters written on paper and generally in good condition; we will refer to them as Letter I, II, etc. The first four are addressed to Pietro Spirito, Canon of San Marco in Venice. Letter I is made up of a folio page folded inside a separate sheet of paper, thus providing five pages for writing (each measuring 22×30 cm), while the outside of the separate sheet served as an envelope bearing the address and the remains of a red wax seal. Letter II is a folded folio with writing on three pages of the same size as Letter I; the outside or fourth page contains the address and remains of the seal. Letter III is a single piece of paper (22×25 cm) with writing on one side and the address and seal on the other. Letter IV is similar but is rather worn at the folds (21×30 cm). Letter V is a folio folded to make four pages (each 22×30 cm); it is in poor condition and covered with corrections and marginal notes, clearly the first rough draft of a letter which, although it bears no address, was meant for the Archbishop of Patras. Letter VI consists of one page (22×11 cm) written in Venetian dialect; there is no address or date and it breaks off in the middle of a sentence.

(2) *Lettere a Rodolfo de Sanctis*. Four letters on paper of one page each make up this folder; written in Venetian dialect and addressed to Rodolfo de Sanctis, all give the day and month but not the year. The first and third are from Antonio de Adamo and are dated from Patras, 24 June and 8 July (19×15 and 20×14 cm). The second, from Nicola Agapito, is dated from Patras, 2 July (29×29 cm); the fourth is from Marco Gradenigo and is dated Modon, 8 July (22×15 cm).

(3) *Lettera a Pietro Chorozaits*. This consists of one letter on paper written in Venetian by Domenico Dolfin and dated Candia, 29 April 1387; it was addressed to Pietro Corrosatis with the request to forward it to Rodolfo.

(4) *Note di Conto*. This folder encloses seven pieces of paper containing financial notes, most of which are written in Latin by Rodolfo. The first is very small and bears the notation: 'Debet mihi dominus Petrus computato banchali duc. 1 et computato duc. 1 minus f. viii quos sibi debebam, libre vi, f. iii.' The second sheet is larger and contains similar notes under the heading: 'Taxi per miser Rodolfo di Santi.' No. 3 is one page (22×30 cm) written on both sides with five short financial statements, one of which is dated 1381. The fourth and fifth are of the same size and content. No. 6 is half a page (22×15 cm) folded and entitled: 'Raxon de miser Rodolfo per lo so argento.' The seventh is a small piece of paper with very faint notations.

(5) Legal Documents on Parchment. This is a series of twelve loosely arranged documents on parchment of various sizes, all of them in Latin; we will cite them as Parch. Doc. and the number. The first attests to Rodolfo's purchase of a slave in Patras on 13 October 1385 (26×20 cm); on the outside is written: 'Instrumentum Morphie sclave mei Rodulphi de Sanctis.' Documents 2 to 12 have to do with the settlement of Rodolfo's estate and are all dated in Venice from 20 September 1389 to 10 July 1394.

(6) *Commissaria* of Rodolfo de Sanctis. This is a bound parchment volume of five numbered folia with a cover in heavier parchment (25×37 cm). On the cover is written in large letters: 'Commissaria domini Rodulphi de Sanctis, decretorum doctoris, Sancte Marie Iubanicho.' Fol. 1 begins: 'Nos Petrus Mocenigo et Lodoycus Lauredano, procuratores S. Marci, notamus ad memoriam quod dominus Rodolphus de Sanctis, decretorum doctor, obiit de m<sup>o</sup>iii<sup>o</sup>lxxxviii mensis <...> cuius commissarii in <...> die xvi mensis augusti antedicti m<sup>o</sup>.' Then follows a list of expenses, which is continued on fol. 1v and 2 under the title: 'Recipe de bonis huius commissarie.' The next three pages are blank. Fol. 4 to 5 contain the testament of Rodolfo. Fol. 5v to 7v have several entries under the heading: 'Expense communes et debita soluta.' The rest of the volume is blank.

#### THE LIFE OF RODOLFO DE SANCTIS

In a letter of 15 April 1386, Rodolfo observed that he was growing older,<sup>6</sup> but he does not further specify his age, nor do the other documents in *Busta* 62 furnish any clear indication. The most likely supposition, however, is that in 1386 he was between thirty-five and forty-five years old and would thus have been born in the decade 1341-1351. In any case, he was born in Venice, the son of Marco de Sanctis, who had died sometime before 1378.<sup>7</sup> From 1365 to 1376, a Rodolfo de Sanctis is listed as *pievano* (parish rector) of the Church of Santa Maria Nova in Venice and could well be the same person as the future canon of Patras. This would indicate, then, that he had received tonsure, perhaps while still very young, but there is no certain evidence in any of the documents that he was ever ordained a priest.<sup>8</sup> Sometime before

<sup>6</sup> 'Ego enim iam in dies procedo': Letter I 4.

<sup>7</sup> A. Gloria, *Monumenti della Università di Padova* (1318-1405) (Padua 1888) II 130. A 'Magister Iohannes de Sanctis,' who died in 1392, is buried in the Church of S. Maria dell' Orto in Venice: Cicogna, *Inscrizioni Veneziane* 2.277. Near the *Arsenale* in Venice is a *Sottoportico dei Santi* and there is a *Corte dei Santi* in the *sestiere* San Marco and another in the Giudecca.

<sup>8</sup> He is listed as *pievano* in Cornelius, *Eccl. Ven.* 2.233. Upon receiving a parochial benefice

1377, Rodolfo accompanied Paolo Foscari, Bishop of Venice from 1367 to 1375, to the papal court at Avignon and, as he later recalled, paid his own expenses on the journey.<sup>9</sup>

Perhaps as a result of his visit to Avignon, Rodolfo thought more seriously about furthering his ecclesiastical career and began the study of Canon Law at the University of Padua. In 1378 he was attending the lectures of Angelo, Archpriest and Canon of Padua, in the latter's house near the Cathedral.<sup>10</sup> About half way through his six-year course of studies, a young lady named Franzeschina came from Capodistria to live with him.<sup>11</sup> Rodolfo's sojourn in Padua drew to a close in 1384: on 5 June his professor, Angelo, officially presented him for the private examination for the licentiate in Canon Law, and on 2 July the examination itself took place in the sacristy of the Cathedral.<sup>12</sup> Probably not long afterwards he went through the more formal public ceremony of receiving the doctorate.

On returning to Venice, Rodolfo again met Paolo Foscari, now Archbishop of Patras,<sup>13</sup> who offered him a benefice and a canon's stall in his cathedral,

a cleric was required by canon law to be ordained to the priesthood within a year (*Sext.* 1.6.14). To defer ordination, a dispensation was necessary which, if he wished to pursue his studies, was always granted (*Sext.* 1.6.34). Rodolfo, however, held a parochial benefice from 1365 on and began his studies only in 1378. According to the law, then, he should have been ordained in 1365-1366, but in view of the lax discipline of the age it is possible that he never fulfilled this obligation.

<sup>9</sup> 'Quando prima vice veni vobiscum Avinionensi meis expensis': Letter V. In 1377 Pope Gregory XI returned to Rome, and the Great Western Schism, which broke out in the following year, precludes any subsequent visit of Foscari, a staunch supporter of the Roman Pope.

<sup>10</sup> Gloria, *Monumenti* II 130. A cleric entering upon the study of Theology or Law was expected to have income from a benefice (without the obligation of residence or with a dispensation therefrom; cf. *Decr. Greg.* IX 5.5.5). — There is a very brief mention of Rodolfo de Sanctis in B. Cecchetti, 'Libri, scuole, maestri, sussidi allo studio in Venezia nei secoli xiv e xv' *Archivio Veneto* 32 (1886) 329-364, esp. 335 n. 1.

<sup>11</sup> *Busta* 62, *Note di Conto* 3. On 25 July 1381 Rodolfo paid one ducat for a pair of shoes for Franzeschina: *ibid.* The relationship between the two has been briefly noted by B. Cecchetti, 'La Donna nel medioevo a Venezia,' *Archivio Veneto* 31 (1886) 33-69, esp. 53-55.

<sup>12</sup> Gloria, *Monumenti* II 173. On this examination at Bologna, whose statutes, with minor variations, were followed by Padua, and on the role played by the presenting doctor (*doctor presentans* or *promotor*) cf. H. Rashdall, F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Oxford 1936) I 224ff.

<sup>13</sup> On 14 August 1384, Foscari was expected to arrive in Venice soon: Arch. Ven. *Senato, Misti* 38, fol. 155v. Paolo Foscari came from a prominent patrician family of Venice whose house may still be seen where the Rio Foscari joins the Grand Canal, while nearby is the Cà Foscari. Paolo, who held a doctorate in *utroque lege*, began his ecclesiastical career as parish rector of San Pantaleone in Venice: Cornelius, *Eccl. Ven.* 2.349, 395. Also cf. *ibid.* 10.182, 13.43, 14.461-2. On 19 August 1365 the Venetian Senate decided to ask the Pope to nominate Foscari to the see of Patras: Arch. Ven. *Senato, Misti* 31, fol. 107. The following

which Rodolfo, against the will of his relatives, accepted.<sup>14</sup> In fact, so Rodolfo later asserted, it was only his friendship for Foscari that made him leave Venice for Greece.<sup>15</sup> Finally, about the end of 1384 or early in 1385 Rodolfo embarked for Romania.<sup>16</sup>

In Patras Rodolfo soon found himself busied about more than spiritual matters, for the Archbishop was constantly embroiled in the intrigues and conflicts of his Latin and Greek neighbors.<sup>17</sup> He was also concerned about the attacks of Turkish and Catalan pirates, and for the defense of his territory he relied heavily on help from his native Venice.<sup>18</sup> Two decades earlier, another Venetian canon of Patras, Carlo Zeno, had ably defended the Archbishopric against its enemies, both Latin and Turkish.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps, in a less dramatic manner, Rodolfo performed a similar task, for he received from Venice military equipment such as saddles, arms and swords and knew enough about them to criticize their quality.<sup>20</sup> About this time (1386-1387) the troops of the Archbishop seem to have been led by a certain Giovanni da Roma and engaged against the Greeks in the Morea.<sup>21</sup>

year, however, he was appointed Bishop of Coron and in 1367 of Castello (Venice): Eubel, *Hier. Cath.* 212, 171. On 25 November 1375 he became Archbishop of Patras: *ibid.* 394. On 17 December of the same year, however, he was still acting as Bishop of Castello, granting permission for the erection of the Church of Corpus Domini in Venice: Cicogna, *Inscrizioni Veneziane* 2.5. Foscari died about the end of 1393 or beginning of 1394, for in a legal document of 23 February 1394 he is already referred to as deceased: *Busta* 62, Parch. Doc. 10.

<sup>14</sup> 'Contra voluntatem meorum ivi ut servirem vobis': Letter V.

<sup>15</sup> 'Nunquam enim, Deo teste et Sancto Andrea, libenter steti Patrassii nisi propter vos': *ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> On learning that Franzeschina had a child on 18 September 1385, Rodolfo was surprised at the late date, since while he was still in Venice she claimed to be pregnant for a month already: Letter I 18.

<sup>17</sup> In 1376 or 1377 Queen Joanna of Naples had designated him as Bailie, i.e., governor in her name, of the Principality of Achaia: *Libro de los Fechos et Conquistas del Principado de la Morea*, ed. A. Morel-Fatio (Publications de la Société de l'Orient Latin; Geneva 1885) p. 159, no. 723. On Foscari's activity in the Morea cf. Gerland, *Neue Quellen* 42-49. A decade later (6 September 1387) Pope Urban VI, who claimed Achaia after the death of Joanna, made Foscari his vicar and governor (*in temporalibus generalem vicarium et gubernatorem*) of the Principality: O. Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici* VII (Lucca 1752) *ad an.* 1387 viii; reprinted in Gerland, *Neue Quellen* 132-4.

<sup>18</sup> For example: in September 1381 the Senate voted to supply him with a well armed galley 'pro conservacione, deffensione et tutela locorum domini archiepiscopi': Arch. Ven. *Senato, Misti* 37, fol. 25v. In March 1382 they allowed him to transport ten soldiers 'ad loca sua pro custodia et conservacione eorum': *ibid.* fol. 66v. Two years later twenty more men were provided: *Misti* 38, fol. 107.

<sup>19</sup> On the adventures of Carlo Zeno in Patras cf. Iacobus Zeno, *Vita Caroli Zeni*, ed. G. Zonta, RIS<sup>2</sup> 19.6 (Bologna 1940). A shorter account is given in W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant, a History of Frankish Greece* (London 1908) 287-90.

<sup>20</sup> Letter II 1; also cf. Letter I 2.

<sup>21</sup> On 8 July (1387?) Marco Gradenigo wrote to Rodolfo from Modon: 'Daspuo io fu in

The exact role, however, that Rodolfo played in the administration of Patras is not certain, since he himself speaks only in general terms, although he makes it clear that he was not Foscari's *vicarius*, probably meaning vicar general.<sup>22</sup> In 1385 he expedited some business for the Bishop of Modon,<sup>23</sup> and in the following year he was to travel to Venice and other places in the service of the Archbishop.<sup>24</sup> On still another occasion, whose date cannot be determined, he was sent to Venice and the papal court.<sup>25</sup> He also had something to do with the finances of the archdiocese<sup>26</sup> and seems to have had the authority to confiscate merchandise in the port of Patras.<sup>27</sup> Since he possessed a law degree, he may also have been active in the law courts.<sup>28</sup>

Perhaps his journeys on behalf of the Archbishop of Patras were connected with the efforts of Pope Urban VI to root out adherents of the Avignonese Pope, Clement VII, in the Levant and to secure the papal revenues of that region for himself. For Foscari had been named Apostolic Legate in Romania and had distinguished himself in the cause of the Roman Pope.<sup>29</sup> One of Rodolfo's fellow canons, the Dean of Patras, Nicola de Mercatellis, was tirelessly journeying up and down Greece in the service of Urban VI and the Apostolic Camera.<sup>30</sup> During the spring or summer of 1386, Foscari was most

campo contra Grexi con la çente de monsignor de Modo, et Çan da Roma fo con quela del Signior de Patras': *Lettere a Rodolfo* 4. *Grexi* could refer to the forces of the Byzantine Despotate of Mistra, although a few years later (1393) the Venetian Senate expressed its astonishment at learning that the Archbishop of Patras was aiding the Byzantine Despot, Theodore I Palaeologus, against the Navarrese in the Morea: Thiriet, *Régestes* no. 826, p. 197.

<sup>22</sup> Letter I 5.

<sup>23</sup> Letter I 8.

<sup>24</sup> Letter III 1.

<sup>25</sup> 'Quandoque etiam pro vobis ivi pro episcopatu Venetiis . . . quando misistis me ad Papam': Letter V.

<sup>26</sup> 'Eram enim administrator familiarium meorum et <...> ecclesie Patracensis. . . bene ecclesie Patracensi si omnes canonici res modis expenderent quibus ego feci. expendi enim, et hoc bene et sufficienter probare possem, quicquid habui de ecclesia Patracensi pro honore et statu ipsius': Letter V.

<sup>27</sup> Letter II 2.

<sup>28</sup> On the judicial activity of the canons in Patras, particularly of those who held the degree, *decretorum doctor*, cf. Gerland, *Neue Quellen* 97-100.

<sup>29</sup> He was named Legate before 26 September 1384, when Clement VII declared him deposed because of his adherence to Urban VI: '... publice et notorie adhererat et adherebat prout adheret de presenti, dando ei in occupationem huiusmodi auxilium, consilium et favorem, legationis ipsius officium dampnabile exercendo, fidelesque nostros et ecclesie Romane graviter persequendo, et quosdam ex ipsis diris carceribus mancipando . . .': Archivio Segreto Vaticano, *Reg. Aven.* 237, fol. 431v.

<sup>30</sup> Also called de Mercadantibus: cf. O. Halecki, 'Rome et Byzance au temps du grand schisme d'Occident,' *Collectanea Theologica* (Lwów) 18 (1937) 477-532, esp. 481ff.

probably the Legate whom the Pope sent to the Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, where he concluded a short-lived union of the Roman and the Greek Churches.<sup>31</sup>

Apart from his official duties, Rodolfo seems to have spent a good deal of time arranging his personal affairs, seeing to the revenues from his benefices and his possessions in Patras. There he owned a house, a vineyard, horses, jackasses (*gaiduri*) and other property and employed several servants, including a Greek slave named Omorphia, whom he purchased on 13 October 1385.<sup>32</sup> He had no intention, however, of spending the rest of his days in Patras but, as he wrote to Pietro Spirito, he hoped to obtain a position in the Rota at the papal court and thus have a better chance of preferment.<sup>32a</sup>

On 9 May 1386, Rodolfo left Patras on business for the Archbishop, arriving at Corfu on the thirteenth; there he witnessed the acquisition of the island by Venice.<sup>33</sup> He then planned to sail to Modon, Candia and Venice. At any rate, he was at Candia in Crete on 24 September and in a week or two intended proceeding to Modon, where he would write to Foscari for further instructions.<sup>34</sup> If the reply from Patras were favorable, he hoped to travel to Venice and so to the papal curia. After that his movements are uncertain, although it seems likely that he was back in Patras in autumn and spent the winter there.<sup>35</sup> On 29 April 1387 a letter was written to him by Domenico Dolfín in Candia, who supposed that he had already set out for the papal court and, because of this, addressed the letter to Pietro Corrosatis in Venice.<sup>36</sup> Rodolfo had asked him to collect the revenues from his benefices in Candia, but Dolfín explained that various obstacles prevented him and suggested that Rodolfo himself come to Crete.

Where Rodolfo was during the spring and summer of 1387 is not at all clear, but during June and July four letters were addressed to him, three from Patras and one from Modon.<sup>37</sup> The first was from Antonio de Adamo, ap-

<sup>31</sup> Cf. G. Dennis, *The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382-1387* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 159; Rome 1960) 142-150.

<sup>32</sup> *Busta* 62, Parch. Doc. 1. On the feudal lands of the canons in Patras cf. Gerland, *Neue Quellen* 81ff.

<sup>32a</sup> Cf. Letter III 3.

<sup>33</sup> Letter III 1.

<sup>34</sup> Letter IV 3.

<sup>35</sup> In a letter (*Lettere a Rodolfo* 2) of 2 July (1387?). Nicola Agapito informed Rodolfo that a certain Sofia had just had a child whose father, as far as one can judge from the context, was Rodolfo.

<sup>36</sup> 'Io mando questa lettera a misser lo plevan de San Bernaba perchè magino vuy sie andato in chortte, e lluy ve scriverà per haver de ve tute choxe': *Lettere a Pietro Choro-zatis*.

<sup>37</sup> *Lettere a Rodolfo* 1-4. Although no year is given, these letters were probably written

parently the manager of Rodolfo's estate in Patras; it bears the date 24 June and is inscribed: 'Onorabile carissimo Signior mio, misser Rodolfo de Santi, dottore et canonico Patracensi.' Since it is not long, it can be given in full.

Carissimo Signore mio. io vostro servidore multu salautho la signoria vostra e prega Dio et miser Santo Andrea ce me dia gratia de vedhere ve tosto de chà, como piasse a vui et a li vostri amissi. li cavalli vostri, Signore, pansanto iii zorne quanto vui ve partisti, lo trissuriero si li mantò tute ala corte. li gaiduri vostri, l'uno vendiò a miser Tobia lo trixuriero per yperpere xxiii e mai non po avere nulo denaro d'eso. li altri doi tene lo trixuriero con lo gaiduriaro ala cassa sua e fa li fati soi. li vostri vini lo trissuriero li ventiò a Dimitri Papadopullo, tute a yperpere 1 lo zin denaro, e si a termene per tuto sente ben a pagare li denari, e fu me tolte li chiave incontente e fu dà a Dimitri.

La Sofia povera non stete a caxa de lo trissuriero forse zorne x e poi la fu dito ce antose a stare in cassa de la mare. e lo trixuriero la mantene de zò che la fa miestiere, e sapi che lle gravedha di messi vii, et in finamò vann li fati soi bene, zoè de la sua persuna. la mare de Sofia como vui ve partisti cussi ella non stete mai più de llà. ma troval vostra altra con lo soldo e guverna se la strofaria e sta bene in finamò. mi non me parto de llà ma lo più attento ala strofaria.

Lo zulpuno vostro non lo volse fare lo Grezo mai, ne nesun altro maistro. e feze llo fare cumandamento de lo potestà ce lo dovesse fare e non lo volse fare. e si ve lo manto ce non poso trovar maistro che lo vollià fare. e lo Grezo se parti e antose a stare a Nepanto. de lo fato de lo zendatho, domandai Zoane da Roma e non avia, e zercai ala tera per trovare e non potè trovare. li vostri fati spero a Dio ce andará bene. Dio ve mantegna.

Scrito a di xxiii zugnio, del vostro servitore, Antonio de Adamo.<sup>38</sup>

in 1387. They all speak of a child just having been born to Sofia, who would seem to be the same individual mentioned by Rodolfo in Letter V: 'Puto quod iuvenis illa que mecum stabat iam enixa sit.' Letter V is Rodolfo's reply to the serious charges made against him by the Archbishop; the relations between the two must have become strained in 1387, for in Letter IV, dated 24 September 1386, there is no hint at all of such difficulties. — As far as Rodolfo's whereabouts are concerned, these four letters make it clear that he was not at the papal court, nor in Venice, Patras, Candia or Modon. Perhaps he spent part of this time in Coron; at least, Agapito arranged for money to be given to him there: cf. below, n. 43.

<sup>38</sup> *Lettere a Rodolfo* 1. *Lo Trissuriero* is the treasurer of Patras, Nicola Agapito; messer Tobia, Dimitri Papadopoulos and Sofia are mentioned in *Lettere a Rodolfo* 2-3, but are otherwise unknown. *Vostra altra* may possibly be referred to by Agapito in his letter of 2 July: 'Per la Chaquea che vui me scrivete che io ve la debia mandare a Venexia, ella dixè in brieve che ananci se la saria taliare per peçe che ella andasse in Venexia mai. e io dubitandomi che ella non me schampasse de casa mia, la o cofortata che non andará in Venexia. se vui volite li dinari che ella ve chustò, io ve li farò dare, e se vui no volite li dinari e volite puri essa, scriveteme a chi volite che io la consegno et io la consegnarò voluntieri.' *Lo Grezo* is unknown; *Nepanto* is Lepanto (Nafpaktos); *Zoane da Roma* is the Giovanni da Roma who was connected with the military forces of Patras: cf. above, n. 21.

A few days later (2 July) the treasurer of Patras, Nicola Agapito, wrote to him at greater length about the same matters.<sup>39</sup> He affirms that he does not know whether the rumor is true that Rodolfo was about to be sent to 'Messer Raineri.'<sup>40</sup> It was at the Archbishop's command that Rodolfo's horses were brought to the archiepiscopal court, but his weapons and other property have been left undisturbed. Agapito then professes his readiness to carry out Rodolfo's other orders including the rental of his house.<sup>41</sup> The Archbishop himself will write to him about his benefices, particularly about the canonry vacant in Modon.<sup>42</sup> He has sold two of Rodolfo's jackasses and, since he distrusts Rodolfo's servant, John, the bearer of the letter, he will arrange with ser Bernardo de la Mulla so that the money will be given to him in Coron.<sup>43</sup> Incidentally, he remarks, Dimitri Papadopoulos got little profit out of Rodolfo's vineyard, since the wine turned to vinegar. He also notes that the Archbishop is rather disturbed about what Sofia has been saying against Rodolfo. At any rate, she has just had a child and has gone to live with her mother, but Agapito is seeing to her support. The parish rector (*parochiano*) who owes Rodolfo money has no intention of paying it, not in a hundred years, but, with Rodolfo's permission, the treasurer will deduct it from his revenues.<sup>44</sup>

Another letter from Antonio de Adamo of 8 July repeats practically everything he had said earlier.<sup>45</sup> The same day Marco Gradenigo wrote to Rodolfo from Modon, but has very little to relate, except that Giovanni da Roma told him that the treasurer, with Foscari's consent, was devouring Rodolfo's property in Patras.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>39</sup> *Lettere a Rodolfo* 2.

<sup>40</sup> 'Scrivetime che io ve faça a saver se fu vero che vui devenate essere mandato a messer Raineri. de questo io non sso la verità.' Raineri may be Nerio I (Rainerio) Acciajuoli, Lord of Corinth and soon to be Duke of Athens.

<sup>41</sup> 'De qui in avel farò lo melio che io porò sequundo vui me scrivete, e lo simile farò de la aptacione de la casa.'

<sup>42</sup> 'Item. per lo fato de li tue beneficii, ... io parlay con lo Signore de questo et eciadio de quello canonichato che vacha a Modon sequundo vui me scrivete. e de tuto questo lo Signore ve risponde dentro a la letera che ve scrive.'

<sup>43</sup> 'Li dite denari, no me confidando tropu bene de lo vostro famelio, intanto che vui non me scrivete a chi io li debia consegnare, e li o fate chanbio con ser Bernardo de la Mulla, che ve siano date a Coron per uno ser Gasparino Longo, sequundo vui vederite la cetulla de lo chanbio.'

<sup>44</sup> 'Lo parochiano me responde che lo fu ingana et a dito de vui e che da chi a cento anni non vedaria vostro tornexe. so par questo fato, a me pare che vui li scrivete che me daga lecenca che io me possa pagare sopra li fruti sue.'

<sup>45</sup> *Lettere a Rodolfo* 3.

<sup>46</sup> 'De la fameia me dise como lo tresurier con voluntade del Signor mançava omni cosa, e che la mamola e'l puto stava in casa del tresurier mal confortade': *Lettere a Rodolfo* 4.

At about the same time Rodolfo received an unexpected letter from the Archbishop, the gist of which can readily be gathered from his reply, or rather, from the rough draft of a letter he prepared in his defense.<sup>47</sup> Too lengthy and repetitious to give *in extenso*, the letter begins:

Reverendissime Pater et singularissime domine et benefactor mi, humili ac debita recomendacione premissa. per quemdam Michaletum de Candia qui venerat Patrassium pro quadam dispensacione, qui vobis meas de Mothono literas portaverat, recepi vestre reverendissime P. literas, quas perlegens et satis dolui et super quam satis admiratus sum. dolui namque quod ex contentis literarum mearum scribitis vos cordialiter afflictum.

Rodolfo can think of nothing in his letters that should have so distressed the Archbishop, apart from a few unkind remarks about Agapito, whom he really loved as a brother, despite the way he treated his property in Patras. He then vehemently protests against Foscari's accusation that he had spoken ill of the Pope: 'Testes sunt litere mee quas negare non potero, producantur in medium et si non sic est, volo mori.' He is shocked to learn that the Archbishop has deprived him of his benefices: 'Etiam additis quod clamo usque ad celum, quod sum expulsus de beneficiis meis, et quod si tenuissem alios modos in vita mea, hec non occurrissent mihi.' But he soon adds: 'Nunc enim sum liber nec servire habeo nisi Deo.' Enemies of his in Patras, he hints, have brought about his disgrace. 'Hi quos de stercore erexistis ad honores, licet modo contententur et letentur de absentia mea, magis in posterum erunt necessarii mei quam ego eorum.' Finally, after indignantly denying that his house was a den of iniquity, a *postribulum*, he continues:

Multa alia sparsim scribitis ad maximam reprehensionem, vituperium et infamiam mei, que dum legi exanimis factus sum nec potui pre dolore et tristitia lacrimas continere. et ex melanconia fui post dies infirmatus et iacui ultra dies x et ultra quam exprimere valeo dolui. scribitis enim quod admodo estis desperatus de me et quod non videtis aliquam mutationem prioris vite et quod plantastis vineam et ubi putabatis quod faceret vobis uvam, fecit lambruscas et tribullos. ... amore Dei quero quas lambruscas vel quos tribulos feci vobis ... vel de vobis male locutus fui vel quid aliud mali commisi. in quo peccavi aut contristavi vos, libenter audiam.

He had not accepted the benefice in Patras, as Foscari had intimated, simply because he needed the money. The Archbishop reproached him for his stinginess and reminded him that prelates too were occasionally in need of financial assistance. To this Rodolfo rejoined: 'Quod multi domini indigeant, credo; quod non indigeatis vos, certus sum.' According to Foscari, Rodolfo owed him seven hundred ducats. Let it come to seven thousand,

<sup>47</sup> Letter V.



answered Rodolfo, it is all the same to him. Actually, he protested, the Archbishop's calculations are incorrect but, since he is the master, let him compute the debt any way he likes. Rodolfo next denied that he had spent church funds foolishly, in fact, it would have been well for Patras if all the canons handled finances as well as he had done — with one exception: 'Extra iuvenem illam quod satis modicum est.'

Et si videtur r.<sup>me</sup> P. vestre non plene evomuisse voluntatem vestram contra me, compleatis, supplico, quia et carte et atramentum, ut scio, non defficiunt vobis. non sic puto meruisse apud vos. hunc finem meruerunt vigilie et labores mei? in omnibus benedictus Deus. ecce, hic sum dispositus ire ad curiam, duce Deo, et ibi servire et laborare secundum quod alias dixi r.<sup>me</sup> P. vestre. In Candia modicum collegi de beneficiis meis quia illa dominacio non vult nobis solvere decimas.<sup>48</sup> ... feci expensas et ibi et hic etiam facturus sum, et spero satis habere pro expensis usque Venetiis. si vultis mihi aliquid mittere ut promisistis, credo quod bene facietis et cedet ad honorem vestrum, ut ex quo fecistis me, utique non deferatis me et ut possim dexterium meum bonum implere, scilicet, servire in Rota et exercitari circa scientiam, quod plene dextidero. ... potestis, si vultis, mihi mittere saltem iii<sup>e</sup> ducatos quibus possim sustentare in curia vitam meam.

If nothing else, at least their old friendship and their common scholarly interests should move the Archbishop to aid him. Furthermore, rather than let it be said that he had been expelled from his benefices, Rodolfo would prefer to renounce them of his own accord. Would the Archbishop then give his consent so that he could exchange (*permutare*) his present benefices for those in another diocese? The draft of Rodolfo's apology concludes on a more personal note:

Puto quod iuvenis illa que mecum stabat iam enixa sit. si aliud vos non movet ad subveniendum ei et partui, saltem vos excitet humanitas que maior in vobis esse debet, quia principalis prelatus et dominus pater estis, et quia etiam canem vestrum unum propter reverentiam vestram revereri et nutrire paratus essem.

Not long afterwards Rodolfo drew up another letter in Italian (Letter VI), also incomplete and addressed simply: 'Amigo e fradello carissimo', perhaps Pietro Spirito. It begins:

Credo, anche son certo, che vu sapie como io son stado tractado a Patras, puo la partenza mia che may non me a vouido dar l'arcivescovo pur un dinaro, digando ch'io li iera diebito ducati vii<sup>e</sup>, ... ni non me de posso aiutar, et al mio parer la disposicion soa e de non me dar cosa alcuna.

<sup>48</sup> On 28 August 1386 the Venetian Senate wrote to the Duke and counsellors of Crete: it has been reported that for the past two years they had not been giving the usual tithes (*decimas*) to the archbishop and canons of Crete; the Senate ordered them to begin doing so immediately: Arch. Ven. *Senato, Misti* 40, fol. 43.

All this has determined Rodolfo to exchange his benefices in Patras for one in Modon and one in Coron, even though their revenues are less than the former.

Eben che i vaia men cha i mie, molte caxion me a induto a far la permutacion. la prima, per essere del tuto soto la signoria de Venexia. l'altra, perchè penso che ziaschun di prelati serano contenti, così de mi como de cholu che iera in prima. si anche cho io son plu prexio de Candia cha siando a Patras, et ancho con menor fadiga saverò novelle ch'io non savera in prima.

About the end of 1387 Rodolfo was back in Venice,<sup>49</sup> where on 9 July 1388 he made out his last will and testament, since, as he declared, he was about to sail for Crete and wished to leave his affairs in order.<sup>50</sup> Apparently he intended to remain in Crete for some time, for after his death later that year three trunks belonging to him had to be shipped back from Candia to Venice. Whether he effectively took possession of his benefices in Modon and Coron is uncertain, but in his will he refers to himself merely as *decretorum doctor*, not canon of Patras, an indication that he no longer held that position. The will was drawn up by the Venetian notary, Pietro de Compostellis, and the *Procuratori di San Marco* were named as its executors (*commissarii*). Rodolfo left four hundred gold ducats to the child expected by Dorotea Gigli; his son in Patras, Marco, received two hundred, and one hundred were bestowed on Lucia, who was said to be his daughter, but only on condition that she should not give a penny of it to her mother Franzeschina.<sup>51</sup> A smaller amount was left to the monasteries of San Andrea on the Lido of Venice and of San Pietro Casacalbo in Torcello. One of his books was to be given to the Dominican Convent of San Giovanni e Paolo in Venice. Any other property was to be employed in having prayers said for his soul and for his parents.

His departure for Crete must have been delayed for a while, for on 5 August he rented a house for a year in the neighborhood of Santa Maria Zobenigo in Venice.<sup>52</sup> Before the end of the year, however, Rodolfo had brought his

<sup>49</sup> In his will, made on 9 July 1388, he left money to the child expected by Dorotea Gigli, 'qui ad presens dicit se pregnantem': *Busta* 62, *Commissaria* fol. 4.

<sup>50</sup> 'Ego, Rodulphus de Sanctis de Venetiis, decretorum doctor, sanus corpore et mente, in Cretensem insulam profecturus, nolens humanis eximi meo incondito et testamento ac bona mea inordinata relinquere ...': *ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> 'Item. dimitto Lucie filie mee, ut dicitur, ducatos centum aure, quos habere debeat pro sua dote cum fuerit etatis annorum tresdecim ut tunc maritetur, ita tamen quod nullo unquam tempore ipsa Lucia possit aliquid de dictis ducatis centum vel de sua dote dare, donare, vel legare Francischine matri sue vel alicui consanguineo, attinenti vel affini ipsius Francischine': *ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> On 20 September 1389 Donato Mergolo asked the executors of Rodolfo's estate for ten gold ducats, 'pro resto afficionis unius anni completi et finiti quinto mensis augusti de presenti millesimo ad rationem ducatorum sexdecim in anno de una sua domo per dictum

brief career to a close. The exact date and place of his death is not known, but it was certainly between 5 August 1388 and 28 February 1389.<sup>53</sup> Perhaps he had already set sail for Crete. In any case, he must have sent some of his belongings there, for in 1390 and 1391 his executors paid for the transportation of three trunks containing clothing and books from Candia to Venice.<sup>54</sup>

Pietro Spirito, to whom Rodolfo wrote the four letters published below, had been a canon of San Marco in Venice since 20 September 1377.<sup>55</sup> In 1381 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the bishopric of Equilino (the present Iesolo, no longer a bishopric), and in 1386 he also held the title of *pievano* of SS. Hermagora e Fortunato in Venice.<sup>56</sup> On 21 April 1391 the Venetian Senate recommended to the Pope that Pietro be given the Abbey of Santa Maria de la Follina as well as some canonry in Crete which would then become vacant *in curia*.<sup>57</sup> In September of the same year he received permission from the Doge to spend a year in Crete *per suoi affari* on condition that he designate another priest to perform his duties in San Marco.<sup>58</sup>

#### LETTERS OF RODOLFO DE SANCTIS

##### I

*Patras, 15 April 1386*

Venerabili et sapienti viro, domino Petro Spirito, canonico Sancti Marci de Venetiis, ut fratri carissimo.

defunctum [Rodolfo] adaffictum ... in confinio Sancte Marie Iubanico': *Busta 62, Parch. Doc. 2.*

<sup>53</sup> On fol. 1 of the *Commissaria* of Rodolfo is a note: '... Rodolphus de Sanctis, decretorum doctor, obiit de m<sup>o</sup>iii<sup>o</sup>lxxxviii<sup>o</sup> mensis <...> cuius commissarii in <...> die xvi<sup>o</sup> mensis augusti antedicti m<sup>o</sup>.' Unfortunately, the two places omitted here were left blank in the original. According to Venetian reckoning, the year 1388 extended to the last day of February 1389.

<sup>54</sup> On 27 April 1390 they paid 'pro nabulo duorum chopharorum conductorum cum panis et libris de Chandida': *Busta 62, Commissaria* fol. 5v; and again on 27 June 1391, 'pro nabulo unius choffari quem apportavit de Chandida Venetiis': *ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> Cornelius, *Eccl. Ven.* 10.288. There still exists a *Calle dei Spiritti* in Venice not far from the present Piazzale Roma.

<sup>56</sup> Cornelius, *Eccl. Ven.* 14.463, 1.301.

<sup>57</sup> '... Providebit venerabili viro presbytero Petro Spirito de abbatia S. Marie de la Follina, et ipse ser Petrus habeat quoddam beneficium canonicatus in partibus Crete, quod in dicto casu veniet ad vacandum in curia': Arch. Ven. *Senato, Misti* 41, fol. 138. It remains uncertain whether Pietro received the abbey in Follina; at least, there is no mention of him in the work of J. Bernardi, *Valmarino e Follina* (Venice 1866).

<sup>58</sup> *I libri commemoriali della repubblica di Venezia*, ed. R. Predelli (Monumenti storici pubblicati dalla R. Deputazione Veneta di storia patria, Serie prima, Documenti 3; Venice 1878) III no. 358, p. 210; also cf. no. 357.

Recepte 1386 mensis madii die v.

[1] Frater dilectissime et amice cordialissime, post salutem. literam vestram unam recepi die viiii martii que portata fuit de Corfu et, ut ex subscriptione apparet, longo tempore fuit in via quia data erat Venetiis xxiii octubris. puto quod hoc fuerit propter perversitatem temporum que, ut audio, viguit ubique anno isto. dictam literam libentissime vidi eo quod percepi vos omnesque de domo vestra sanos fore et in bono statu et, quando audio de vobis et vestris nova, videtur utique mihi de consanguineis meis audire. sic, Deo teste, vos vestrosque diligo.

[2] Scripsi autem vobis per multas literas quomodo res per vos mihi missas omnes integraliter receperam ita quod ulterius non insisto. et sciatis quod ferra ab equis fuerunt ii<sup>e</sup> clavos — non feci numerari sed puto quod fuerint tot quot scribitis.

[3] De puella vero quam peperit Fran(zeschina) laudetur Deus qui solus novit que ventura sunt, tamen libentius voluissem masculum, sed hec non secundum hominum voluntatem sed ex Dei dispositione proveniunt. non sufficio autem regraciari vobis de cura et sollicitudine vestra circha res meas et omnia per vos circha id acta mihi gratissima sunt. concedat Altissimus ut retribuere possim vobis iuxta desiderium cordis mei, quia videbitur forte adhuc in brevi quod sine ficcione aliqua vos uti germanum dilligo. puellam autem si vivit, cuius nomen non scribitis, licet expedire non credam, quia firmum habeo quod si vestra esset non plus faceretur, vobis utique recomendo, nec minus factum alterius puelle quam habet Prosdocimus.

[4] Quod scribitis de Fran(zeschina) plenius intellexi, et credatis quod amicus ille meus qui mihi de hoc scripsit non sine ministerio scripsit et sitis certus, frater et compater dulcissime, quia iam diu minus honestam vitam duxit. et alias informaciones habuit ille qui licentia vitam quam illius Marchi de Imbriachis. non fuisset ille motus propter informacionem illius solius qui omnibus ut ebrius et fatuus notus est. non est uxor mea vel serva; videat ipsa si bene fecerit. in veritate iam diu cognovi eam, pessime voluntatis et animi, multaque passus sum semper dispositus ei facere bonum eo quod dum videbar pauper ostendit mihi dilleccionem, sed volo ut psalmista dicere, 'dilexit malediccione et veniet ei, et noluit benediccione et elongabitur ab ea.' [Ps. 108] consulitis mihi et ex consilio amicorum quod maritem eam ne inutiliter has expensas patiar. vere iam diu fui oppinionis et maritare eam et ei benefacere, sed de die in diem expectabam possibilitatem. nunc vero, etsi propter turpitudinem eius non deberem eam audire nominari, tamen in remissionem peccatorum meorum et pro animabus parentum meorum, si uxori vellit sum contentus dare ei ducatos quinquaginta et pecunia et illum lectum parvum quem emit plebanus, et unam de illis cultris quam voluerit, excepta dismembrata quam volo pro me, et omnes pannos suos et res suas et masa-

ricias eius. reliquas autem res meas et masaricias meas retineatis pro me. et vere nescirem vos bene de rebus meis certificare, sed vissitando eam poteritis caute de omnibus informari ab ea. habet panos meos qui non sunt modici, habet iiii<sup>or</sup> coclearia de argento et duos pironos totos de argento et alios duos cum manubriis de ebore, et debet etiam habere viiii brachia de catasanuto albo. omnes res meas vobis recomendo sicuti proprias et quod habeatis omnem curam et sollicitudinem quam haberetis in propriis. si vero dicta Fran(zeschina) nolet uxori, non sum dispositus quod habeat unum denarium de bonis meis quia non sum dispositus dare adiutorium meretricio. satis uquusque feci; sufficit ei. istud tamen sit, quod quanto cicius potestis comode, licencietis eam quia nullo modo volo amplius eam habere expensis meis, que usque modo non fuerunt parve. si vult bene facere habet satis de eo quod sibi dari volo. si vult male agere plus habet de suo quam mereatur. ego enim iam in dies procedo et si curia aptabitur vellem libenter procurare mihi aliquam prelaturam, non ex ambitione certe, sed ut liberius vivam. nec volo ut mihi obici possit de ea cum promoveri voluero. dictos autem L ducatos pro maritando eam petatis a domino Nicolao Foschari cui super hoc scribo quia puto quod serviet mihi super hoc negocio. scribo etiam de hoc domino plebano Sancti Barnabe cum quo de omnibus conferre placeat et cum eo ordinare de modo tenendo in habendo res meas a dicta Fran(zeschina) et in expediendo eam ut predixi.

[5] [p. 2] Scribitis quod ille episcopus de ordine predicatorum dixit vobis quod eram vicarius domini mei. scitis, frater, oppinionem meam quam iam diu dixi vobis dum apud vos essem: non dexidero officium vicariatus quia per Dei gratiam habunde habeo et ab omnibus dilligor et officiales non possunt omnibus conplacere. et si vellem servare conscienciam meam tale officium non esset mihi nisi ad dampnum, imo nec volui nec volo. de eo vero quod dixit quod ad curiam pro negociis domini pergeret minus bene locutus est, sed de presbytero Petro Solario veritatem. nam vere exosus est omnibus et valde, et si non fuisset iam diu dominus meus expulisset eum propter eius iniquitates. sed si de cetero casus occurrant, aliquid addam ut expellatur quia homo male condicionis et vite est et ad nichilum valens nisi ad ebrietatem. et sitis certus quod bene habeo vos menti et spero quod in brevi sciatis.

[6] Etiam scribitis, et alia vice scripsistis, quod ille fatuus de Cha Delphino non est mortuus, sed ut et alias scripsi vobis, non debetis de hoc curare quia ex alio capite et alio modo vacat. habemus enim constitutiones in insula Cretensi generales, quod si quis sine licentia se absentaverit ab insula Cretensi et fuerit absens per biennium, sit ipso facto privatus beneficiis suis que in dicto loco optinet. et dictus fatuus iam diu absens fuit absque licentia aliqua et sic privatur dicto beneficio, et propter hoc feci in literis exprimi hunc vacationis modum. hortor autem vos ut non negligatis hanc gratiam, sed

prosequamini iura vestra, quia bonum ius habetis et in posterum eritis de dicto beneficio bene contentus. et adhuc si pro aliquo modico possetis cum dicto fatuo esse in concordio placeret mihi ut magis pacifice res transiret, licet sum certus quod non faciet vobiscum litem. habeatis consensum Domini nostri et postea quod necessarium fuerit a domino meo libenter habebitis quia dominus libenter contulit vobis et spero quod adhuc melius vobis faciet quia vos amat et forte in brevi videbitis.

[7] Insuper, frater, iam diu vacavit quedam prebenda in ecclesia Cretensi quam tenebat presbyter Nicolaus Trevixano, quem bene ut credo cognoscitis, quem vicarius Cretensis dictis canonicatu et prebenda privavit. habentur autem consuetudines et statuta in ecclesia Cretensi, quod cum vacat prebenda aliqua, antiquior canonicus si vult potest illam optare, et si antiquior non vult, tunc alius proximus optare potest et sic successive alius usque ad ultimum, et huiusmodi consuetudines et statuta approbantur a iure. ego tunc sciens huiusmodi vacationem optavi huiusmodi prebendam coram domino meo infra tempus debitum. et ista estate preterita commissi huiusmodi negocium meum presbytero Paulo, filio cuiusdam plebani Sancti Viti, qui illuc iturus erat et inunxi ei ut nichil in factis meis faceret sine voluntate et beneplacito illius Dominacionis, et scripsi etiam super hoc domino Marcho Geno, Duce Cretensi. iste presbyter ribaldus scribit mihi dum rediit Mothoni quod primo habuit voluntatem et consensum Domini, sed postea per Dominum illud impeditus fuit et incurrit maxima pericula, et concludit quod in factis meis nichil facere potuit quia Dominum non permisit quod prosequeretur iura mea. ideo iam diu scripsi vobis et nunc scribo ut dignemini et cum amicis et cum armis et fustibus esse coram Dominio nostro et supplicare eidem ut scribatur una litera Duce et consiliariis Cretensibus ut non impediant me in prosecutione iurium meorum, sed quod debeant me permittere prosequi iura mea. et de hoc quantum valeo vos deprecor ut procuretis hanc literam et mihi eam mitatis quanto cicius potestis, et loquamini cum domino Cancelario qui multum in hoc prodesse poterit. certum enim teneo quod ei presentaveritis caratellum Romanie, prout vobis scripsi, scientes quod hec prebenda in duplo vallet quam mea prima. et forte adhuc vestra erit si daret Deus ut ad alia promoverem.

[8] Hic est sacerdos Paulus predictus, bene sacerdocio indignus et non declinans a semita et natura suorum similium spuriorum. recepit nomine meo Candie de beneficiis meis centum sesaginta ducatos et emit aliquas tellas quas dixit constare ducatos lxxxv et ultra. in quibus vere, frater, decepit me ultra xv ducatos residuum. cum sepe scripsissem ei nolebat mihi mittere tanquam proditor et latro. quid accidit? habui a casu expedire quoddam negocium domini episcopi Mothoni cum domino meo, domino archiepiscopo. tunc feci quod dominus meus scripsit eidem domino episcopo et ego etiam

quatenus digna [p. 3] retur compellere dictum presbyterum ad dandum mihi pecunias meas, quod et promissit se facturum, licet ribaldus idem diceret se non habere de meis nisi ducatos lxx, cum haberet lxxv et ultra. et sic rescripsi dicto domino episcopo. quid faciet cum dicto impio sacerdote ignoro. etiam expendi pro dicto domino episcopo Mothoni hic ducatos xi et medium. scripsi eidem quod scriberet Venetiis ut hec pecunia tota, que ascendit ad ducatos lxxxvi, daretur Venetiis vel vobis vel domino plebano Sancti Barnabe. et licet postquam hoc scripsi, non habuerim responsionem a dicto domino episcopo. credo quod sic scripsit fratri suo quod dicta pecunia assignetur vobis vel plebano, et potestis de hoc loqui Venetiis cum fratre eius. spero tamen usque ad modicos dies certam responsionem habere a dicto domino episcopo quomodo de dicta pecunia ordinauerit. sed sive frater eius daret vobis lxxxvi ducatos et medium sive lxxxvi et medium, vel quantum dabit, recipiatis et quietetis eum nomine meo. clarius tamen super hoc scribam vobis cum idem dominus episcopus mihi rescripserit, sed tamen loquamini super hoc cum fratre eius.

[9] De novellis decretalium et sesti quondam domini Nicolai Maurezeni, nescio si emistis ut sepius scripsi vobis. si emistis multum placet. sin autem, rogo quod omnem modum teneatis ut habeam eas, usque ad summam centum quinquaginta ducatorum. scio quod habuistis L ducatos a domino Nicolao Foschari. si mutuaverit alios centum ut scripsi ei, bene quidem; si non fecit, inveniatis rogo, quia subito solvam hic, et etiam estis habiturus in brevi has pecunias ab episcopo Mothoni. volo omnino dictas novellas habere ex quo non possum rehabere meas. et si pro emendis his rebus quas in hac cedula scribo quod mitatis mihi essent vobis necessarii denarii, queratis a ser Aluxxio de Priolis vel a ser Andrea de Enselmo, quia quilibet illorum, ut puto, serviret mihi de ducatis L. et volo si estis necessarius quod requiratis aliquos eorum, ad probandum saltem amicos. et recipiatis monetam quia quantam ibi recipietis, tantam hic solvam et subito misissem vobis ducatos L, sed propter pericula destiti, putans fore securius quod eos, si necesse fuerit, recipiatis ibi.

[10] Habuimus hic nova quod rex Karolus pacifice et quiete, nemine discrepante, factus erat rex Ungarie. libenter audirem quid loquitur Bixius noster modo de suo rege Ludovico qui ita rex erit ut rex schacorum rex est. scio quod iam diu hec nova scivistis quia ipsius coronacio, ut scribitur, fuit ultima die decembris proximi preteriti. de Papa non habuimus cerciora nova quam que scribitis, quod fuit Ianue, deinde fuit Savonam, tamen hic dictum est quod modo est Ianue. aliam vestram literam post istam vestram non habui nec dominus meus aliquam literam habuit de Venetiis. rogo tamen vos satis ut omnia nova de Papa, de statu eius et curie et de cardinalibus qui fuerunt capti, ubi sunt et de aliis et de omnibus prout plenius scire poteritis, et de novis etiam civitatis nostre que libenter bona audio, omnia mihi scribere

dignemini et velitis. et cum scribitis de Franzeschina scribatis eius facta in una cedula per se separata, quia libenter ostendo omnes literas meas domino meo. et rogetis Bixium ex parte mea quod mihi scribat de novis suis eo quod certus sum quod semper multa habet. et salutetis eum ex parte mea, et bene ei si credidisset mihi nec ita implesset capud suum fatuitatibus et stulticiis, compatiar tamen ei, Deo teste.

[11] Scribitis etiam quod audivistis quod dominus Angelus, doctor meus promotus erat ad ecclesiam Cretensem et quod mortuus est. de quo certe summe doleo si verum est quia bonum amicum perdidi, nec minus amicus vester erat, et diligebat amicos uti dilligendi sunt. quod si verum est, omnino placeat me certificare, et si verum est quod esset ad ecclesiam Cretensem promotus, et quis modo ad illam ecclesiam promotus est. et admiror quod de domino Petro Callissoni nichil scribitis cum libenter scirem quid sit de eo. de domino Francisco de Lanzanico libenter audio quod ei exhibueritis honorem quia et ipse bonus amicus est, et si adhuc ibi est, quod non credo, recomendetis ei verbo me et facta mea. si vero recessit, scribatis ei quod vellit facta mea expedire et confirmaciones meas.

[12] Et scribitis quod propter ista facta Fori Iulii putatis quod debeat guerra esse inter Dominacionem nostram et Dominum Padove. hic dictum fuit quod iam erat, licet modo affirmetur contrarium. vellem libenter quod si debet inter nostros et eum guerram esse, quod omnes ad eius destruccionem intenderent, et ego etiam vellem et personam et bona exponere quia nunquam cogitat nisi destruccionem Civitatis nostre. et rogo ut scribatis mihi quantum vellent imprestita et etiam setta.

[13] [p. 4] De Andrea Forzate quod sit infatuatus et a mente alienatus, certe doleo satis et ei compatiar, nec puto ex alio evenisse ei nisi propter necessitatem, ut scribitis, que quidem in desperacionem seu mentis alienacionem eum induxit. audio quod fidelis fuit Dominio nostro et propter hoc dilligebam eum et per omnes modos compaciendum est ei.

[14] De habundantia seu, ut verius loquar, de inundantia aquarum quam scribitis fuisse Venetiis et tonitruis et aliis signis, quid dicam ignoro. sed si fides nostra vera est, ymo quia vera, hec signa significare habent quod mundi finis appropinquat. velit Deus, prout et sepe ei supplicavi, ut temporibus nostris sit, ut ex quo non potuimus adesse principio, videamus finem.

[15] Procuraveram cum domino meo ita et taliter quod ipse dispositus erat dare plebano Sancti Barnabe unam prebendam et vobis unam aliam in hac ecclesia Patracensi, quarum quelibet valebat et valet iii<sup>e</sup> ducatos. volebat tamen quod veniretis huc ad residendum cum eo. postea venit quoddam impedimentum et oportuit ut de illa quam vobis conferre volebat aliter disponeret. de quo satis dolui quia gratum fuisset mihi ultra quam cogitari potest quod me interveniente fuissetis vos ambo canonici prebendati istius

ecclesie. sed quod de vobis modo esse non potuit, spero quod Dei gratia forte in futuro erit. sitis certus quod ad faciendum vobis bonum toto animo vigilo, et bene consideravi que mihi in litera vestra scripsistis et bene teneo menti. scribo domino plebano quoniam dominus meus dispositus est eidem conferre canonicatum et prebendam ecclesie Patracensis valoris iiii<sup>o</sup> ducatorum, si tamen vult venire ad residendum huc. consulo ei et hortor eum quod veniat quia bene ei erit in posterum. si ipse non vellet venire, sicut scribo ei, procurarem hanc prebendam pro vobis. et non dubitetis quia pro certo non cessabo nisi et videam vos hic beneficiatum, si tamen essetis dispositus ad residendum hic, ut vult dominus meus. de quo me certificetis ut si casus occurrat possum dicere domino meo dispositionem vestram.

[16] Si dominus meus dabit mihi licentiam, dispositus sum venire Venetiis cum galeis nostris. faciat tamen Deus quod est pro meliori. hunc dominum archiepiscopum Neopatensem, latorem presentium, intimum meum qui vos non tamen sibi notum dilligit, vivo recomendo. ipse vos plenissime et de me et statu Patrie et omnibus poterit plenius informare.

[17] Si dominus plebanus Sancti Barnabe est huc venturus, dicatis ei quod ipse emat et mittat huc has res in hac cedula contentas, non mitendo denuo quas vos miseritis. si autem non esset venturus vos ematis et mittatis. alia scribere non habeo nisi quod recomendo me vobis et res meas. recomendetis me dominis abbatibus Sancti Georgii et Gregorii et domino primicerio Sancti Marci et domino Raphaino Cancellario. et salutetis millies ex mea parte dominum Petrum Marcello, dominum Nicolaum Vituri, dominum Petrum Sacredo, Marcum Callissoni, Iohannem Lauretano, et Andreolum de Dardanis. et recomendetis me patruo et amite vestris et omnibus de domo vestra.

[18] Ita dulce mihi est scribere vobis ut dum incipio vix possim calamum continere, et ideo non attediemi rogo si multa et forte superflua scribo. scribitis quod Franzeschina peperit die xviii septembris in nocte. sepe post literam vestram ymaginatus sum quomodo sic tarde peperit. nam dum erat ibi dicebat ultra mensem se pregnantem ante hoc tempus, et ex hoc mihi quedam suspicio orta est quod ipsa subposuerit partum et quod hec puella non sit filia eius, nec per consequens mea. scio enim Franzeschinam caute-losam et malicia plenam et matrem eius non minus. vos autem qui ibi estis bene deberetis ex certo hoc scire per multa signa et actus. recordor enim quod alia quadam vice se pregnantem dicebat et ostendebat habere satis tumefactum ventrem, tamen nichil fuit. sic videtur mihi modo sompniari, et cum licenciabitis eam, ut omnino intendo, videbitis forte me prophetam, et bene advertatis verba mea quia non sine ministerio loquor. et hoc etiam dicatis plebano Sancti Barnabe, cum quo de omnibus conferre placeat. eram dispositus nichil scribere Fran(zeschine), sed propter res meas mutavi propositum.

scribo autem satis breviter et hanc literam apperiatis et legatis quam sibi scribo et si vobis et plebano videtur presentare ei, faciatis, sin autem obmittatis. sed amore Dei sitis cauti in rehabendo res meas quia, ut superius dixi, multas malicias novit. carentia lactis facit me suspicari quod superius dixi, et alia sunt que taceo. ita estis sapientes quod bene scietis elicere veritatem. ego autem vester sum. valete feliciter mei memor.

[19] Habet Antonius Maurezeni, quondam domini Nicolai, librum unum qui vocatur Ieronimianus, parvi voluminis et parvi valoris. si vellet illum vendere, ematis usque ad tres ducatos vel iiii<sup>or</sup> ad plus. sed deberet contentari de tribus quia non plus vallet, sed de uno ducato non multum curo. loquamini cum eo et procuretis quod illum habeam pro dicto precio, si melius facere non potestis. [p. 5] licet scripseram superius quod si plebanus est huc venturus, ipse emat et mittat has res in hac cedula contentas, alioquin vos ematis et mittatis, mutavi propositum. et si dominus plebanus est huc venturus et velit emere et mittere pro se, bene quidem. pro me autem nichil ulterius ematis vel mittatis nisi aliud scribam vobis, quia si potero cum benevolentia domini mei hinc recedere, non intendo hic stare et maxime si curia esset in bono statu. si tamen emistis aliquas de his rebus ante huius litere receptionem, mittatis quia, si non erunt necessarie mihi, vendam eas, si tamen dominus non est huc venturus.

[20] Ultimate de Franzeschina, sic omnino faciatis ut superius scripsi, et quanto cicius potestis procuretis habere omnes res meas ad manus vestras. cum autem habueritis, nullo modo amplius sibi datis aliquid de meo vel ministretis ei aliquid. cum autem voluerit uxori, si infra duos menses postquam licenciaveritis eam uxoretur, detis ei et pecuniam et res predictas. si ultra duos menses distulerit, nichil penitus detis ei nec excedatis voluntatem meam in hoc rogo, quia plene scio quid facio nec moverit vos ad contrarium pietas eius. sed potius faciatis propositum meum, quia in facto meo certus sum et de meo solvere debeo. et dico vobis tantum quod si non timerem nisi Deum, vellem quod expelleretis eam nudam de domo mea, et bene meruit et meretur. sed, ut dixi, sit amore Dei ut causam habeat bene faciendi, cum iuxta proverbium rana vix extrahatur a luto. et puto quod nunquam bene faciet. habet enim matrem suam, matrem malicie, que semper putat celari fornicaciones eius. multa passus sum scilicet et in expensis et aliis et vos scitis et dominus plebanus non ignorat, et cum cogito quod non attendit ad honorem meum nec consideravit que erat, ultra modum doleo nec possum nisi dolere. et si essem ibi, non essem forte ita temperatus in facto sicut sum in calamo. sed ecce omnino expediatis me ab ea et non tardetis et habetis voluntatem meam.

[21] Mittatis mihi per primum venturum huc iiii<sup>or</sup> brachia panni nigri de Mediolano pro caligis, et si esset periculum in extrahendo faciatis fieri iiii<sup>or</sup>

paria caligarum et mittatis mihi. Salvanus enim ille qui facit caligas bene scit tibiam meam. et mittatis etiam mihi unum capellum de paleis pulcrum et sex paria de scarpetis de ligno de illis que venduntur in marzaria. item mittatis mihi vii brachia de panno morello non scuro de Mediolano, si potestis habere bonum et durabilem pro uno ducato; sin autem, ematis de Florentia, et xvi brachia de zendato non torto blavo. et istas res omnes quas hic scripsi mittatis mihi per <ser> Natalem Nigro, admirratum, quia subito est reversurus, et spero quod serviet mihi in portando has modicas res. et vos <etiam> faciatis ei festum cum ibi fuerit et sciatis ante si vult dictas res portare, alioquin mittatis cum primo navigio huc venturo.

[22] Item in domo mea dimisi aliquas scripturas in papirro que mihi sunt cariores quam forte aliqui boni libri. attendere etiam ad illas placeat ut non perdantur, sed integre habeantur quia non vellem eas perdere modo aliquo. item habeatis menti mittere mihi mensalia, tobalias et linteamina pro me et familia, ut alias vobis scripsi. alia scribere non habeo de presenti, licet et multa scripseram ut videtis. valete feliciter mei memor.

Patrassii, xv aprilis 1386.

Vester ut frater, Rodolphus de Sanctis,  
Decretorum Doctor, Canonicus Patracensis.

## II

*Patras, 26 April 1386*

Venerabili et sapienti viro, domino Petro Spirito, Canonico Sancti Marci de Venetiis, ut fratri carissimo.

Recepte. 1386, die iii iunii.

[1] Frater dilectissime et amice cordialissime, post salutem. die xx mensis aprilis vestras recepi literas datas Venetiis xxiiii decembris, quas libenter ymo libentissime, vidi, eo quod vos et omnes de domo vestra sanos fore percepi. et primo excusabitis vos quod non potueratis mihi mittere pannos lineos ne devasterentur. sum certus quod fecistis debitum vestrum et quod pro vobis non deffecit, et non expedit facere mecum excusacionem quia non dubito quod facta mea putatis vestra prout et sunt. non fui autem bene contentus de sellis et furnamentis et ensibus, ut tunc scripsi vobis, quia non fuerunt valoris. et scio quod non fecistis sine alterius consilio, sed ille qui consuluit vobis modicum noverat de his negociis. satis autem ad plenum his diebus scripsi vobis per dominum archiepiscopum Neopatensem qui venit Venetiis cum bregantino domini mei, domini archiepiscopi. nec postea occurrerunt alia nisi ut respondeam ad aliqua contenta in hac vestra litera.

[2] Secundo scribebatis quod super facto prebende de Candia non fueratis locutus Dominio propter verba que vobis dixit ser Aluyxius de Priolis. et vere, frater, cognosco ex certo quod ille presbyter Paulus ribaldus deceptit

me quia fur est et latro et quia deprendi eum malum in uno facto puto quod sit malus in ceteris. nam in his tellis quas emit pro me et misit mihi, ultra xv ducatos decepit me nec pro eo deffecit quin asportaret pecunias meas et contractaret eas. et nisi fuisset dominus episcopus Mothoni, forte ad longum tempus non habuissem dictam pecuniam. scripsi autem domino episcopo Mothoni precando ut scriberet Venetiis quod dicte pecunie darentur vobis vel domino plebano Sancti Barnabe, sed ex tunc non habui ab eo responsum. spero quod in brevi rescribet mihi quid ordinaverit, quia et his diebus denuo super hoc ei scripsi. audio autem quod dictus presbyter Paulus, pessime condicionis homo, venit Venetiis multum, ut fertur, turbatus contra me quia dicit me fuisse in causa ut exiret Mothono. et vere, frater, modicum de eo curo. sed obviavi quantum potui ne pateretur malum, reservans vindictam Deo, sed ipse sibi soli imputet. nam scripsit domino meo quod dominus Capitaneus Culphi et dominus Bertucius Contareno clamabant contra me usque ad tercium celum quod ad instantiam et procuracionem meam fuerant sequestrata bona merchatorum Venetorum hic. ego, nolens habere hanc infamiam cum nullatenus essem in culpa, dum dominus Capitaneus Culphi huc venisset, fui ad eum supplicando ei ut se de hoc informaret ab his nobilibus et mercatoribus qui hic erant. qui dixit mihi quod ipse presbyter Paulus mentiebatur in collum suum et quod nunquam fecerat verbum contra me, et vidit literam et ostendit se id satis habere molestum quod scripserat dictus presbyter et, ut audiui, ex postea scripsit ser Vitali Lando, Castellano, non multum amico dicti presbyteri, de hoc. et dictus Castellanus misit usque huc proprium nuncium ut mitteretur sibi dicta litera. obviavi satis ne mitteretur, nec fuit misa. et hic presbyter bonam retributionem reddit mihi, sed spero quod Deus retribuet adhuc ei iuxta merita eius.

[3] Puto autem quod personaliter ibo usque Candiam usque ad modicos dies et videbo quomodo se res habebit. sum enim dispositus non negligere ius meum modo aliquo, quia hec prebenda est de melioribus que sint in Candia. voluissem tamen quod presentavissetis domino Raphaino Cancelario unum caratellum vini prout vobis scripsi, sed ex quo non fecistis, differamus usque ad novum vinum.

[4] Scribitis de statu curie et quomodo dominus Antonius Contareno factus est archiepiscopus Cretensis, de quo non modicam consolacionem suscipio, dum tamen acceptet, quia, ut nostis, me amat et ego eum. et puto quod pro me faceret sicut pro alio. et voluisset Deus, frater mi, quod his temporibus fuisset in curia, quia puto quod habuissem et ego aliquid, sed voluit Deus forte pro meliori ut abessem. sed omnino dispositus sum accedere ad curiam etiam si deberem fere mendicare. et licet alias fuerim alterius oppinionis, volo potius esse prelatus cum v<sup>o</sup> ducatis quam canonicus cum mille. experiar et ego fortunam meam. scio quod qui vult magnos piscari pisces in mari vel

magnis fluminibus debet piscari. puto quod veniendo Venetiis cum galeis portabo tantam pecuniam mecum quod potero vivere in curia per duos annos cum duobus familiaribus etiam si non haberem alios redditus. rogo tamen vos quod mihi scribatis si dominus Antonius acceptabit archiepiscopatum Cretensem, et quid est de domino Angelo, doctore meo, si est verum quod sit mortuus, et de statu Pape et cardinalium, et quot cardinales sunt cum eo et in quo loco sunt cardinales captivi et si debet stare Ianue vel ire Romam, et omnia sic districte et ordinate ut sim plenius informatus.

[5] [p. 2] Et scribitis quod nondum receperatis literas beneficii Sancti Antonii de Candia et quod Dominacio ipsa rependerat vos de collacione ipsius beneficii habita sine ipsius licentia. credo quod bene sciveritis in hoc intendere Dominio. et additis quod preceperat vobis quod non deberetis ulterius procedere sine ipsius licentia. ut potestis recordari, semper dixi vobis quod erat necessarie quod haberetis in hoc facto consensum Domini. habetis et attinentes et amicos. spero quod scietis bene facere facta vestra et tenere modum quod habebitis consensum Domini cum habeatis ius. nec credam quod Dominacio nostra iustissima vellit auferre vobis ius vestrum. doleo tamen quod habeatis dominum Iohannem Gradenico contrarium. sed bene scietis tenere modum pacificandi eum. ego vero libenter viderem quod haberetis intentum super dicto beneficio et ut sepe feci, vos hortor ut toto posse hanc gratiam prosequamini. dabit forte adhuc Deus quod de dicto beneficio eritis bene contentus, sed ad mei consolacionem scribatis mihi quomodo procedet negocium ipsum.

[6] Insuper scribitis quod Antonius Maurezeni vendiderat novella decretalium, de quo ultra modum doleo quia non possem ad curiam ire sine ipsis libris, et eram multum contentus de eis quia correcte erant et fecissem dari eidem Antonio de eis et decreto x ducatos plus quam dominus meus dedisset de decreto centum ducatos. et ego de novellis centum et x, sed non possum aliud. saltem rogo vos ut si ille qui habet meas, qui vocatur dominus Andreas de Montic(eli)s, quem Marchus Callisoni bene cognoscit, veniret Venetiis, faciatis eum citari nomine meo et petatis ab eo, quia habet illas et decretalium et sesti in tribus voluminibus pro centum ducatis et fuerint obligate patri suo, domino Iohanni de Montic(eli)s. et hoc bene scit dominus Ambrosius de Parma, episcopus Concordiensis, et hoc factum sit vobis menti rogo. si vultis scire quando est venturus Venetiis queratis a ser Lunardo Massario, draperio, quia ille habet noticiam eius et scit quando venit Venetiis. multum gaudeo de novella sesti quam dicitis emisse. utinam sic emissetis alias. ematis etiam Ieronimianum, ut vobis scripsi.

[7] Scribitis adhuc quod ille ribaldus Nicolaus, qui stetit mecum, conque- rebatur de me. sed sic evenit sepe ut, quando homines bene faciunt, habeant malam retributionem. per sanguinem Christi, frater, postquam venimus huc

ipse fuit in tantum factus devius cum mulieribus ut non possem aliquid ab eo servitium habere. et reprehendi eum ultra quater et concessi eidem pecuniam ex qua fecit sibi unam pulcram oppellendam et aliam pecuniam quam petiit. et pariter quia non corripiebatur et dabat meum meretricibus, expulli eum. et postquam expulli eum, per duos dies fuit infirmatus; compassione motus et amore ser Petri de Conpostellis, feci eum redire infirmum et feci ministrari ei omnia necessaria sicut si fuisset filius meus. et non servivit mihi duobus mensibus quia semper fuit infirmus — et modo de me conqueritur. hec est retribucio talium malorum, sed retribuet mihi Deus adhuc. de eo quod dicit quod debebam eum reducere meis expensis, non dicit verum. et bene scit hoc ser Petrus de Conpostellis quod nunquam hoc promisi ei, cui potestis hoc narrare. et videor recordari quod de hoc scripseram dicto ser Petro, scilicet, quod dictus Nicolaus ad nichil attendebat nisi ad mulieres.

[8] Ultimo scribitis de Franceschina, quod peperit unam puellam. in omnibus laudetur Deus. sed per dictum dominum archiepiscopum Neopatensem plenius scripsi vobis super factis ipsius Franzeschine. et miror satis et doleo et ultra quam dici potest doleo quod emeritis ei raubam. nam si voluissem quod emissetis ei, utique scripsissem vobis. et scio quod scripsistis mihi quod ipsa petebat a vobis dictam raubam prout scripseram ei, et quod nichil faceretis donec aliter rescriberem vobis, et rescripsi vobis quod nullo modo volebam quod expenderetis in hoc pecuniam meam. nescio quomodo postea contra expressam voluntatem meam sic feceritis. erat melius indutta quam mereretur et bene debebat contentari nec expediebat ei plus expendere si volebat bene facere. sed voluit raubam ut possit ornacius meretricari. frater care, non habeo ego fontem pecunie. constat mihi hec meretrix ultra iiii<sup>c</sup> ducatos a iiii<sup>or</sup> annis citra, et tamen omnia sufferebam si bene egisset. sed quando audio eam fecisse contrarium, non possum audire nomen eius. nolo modo aliquo ulterius ex [p. 3] pensas eius. imo scripsi vobis per dictum archiepiscopum et nunc scribo quod intencionis mee omnino est ut non vivat amplius expensis meis, nec sibi detis unum denarium de meis. nesciebam enim quod emissetis ei hanc raubam quia aliter scripsissem vobis quam tunc scripserim. recordor enim quod quando recesi, dimisi ei ducatos xv vel circha. postea misi ei ducatos xx, et modo ducatos xxv, ut dicitis, expendistis in una rauba, et sic ducatos lx. nescio postea si in aliis expendistis, quia scripsistis quod ministrabatis ei necessaria. essent magni redditus quantum unius boni beneficii quod expendi in muliere hac. satis est quod feci; nolo ulterius facere.

[9] Scribebam vobis per dictum archiepiscopum quod si vellet uxori, daretis sibi L ducatos et lectum unum et cultram. nunc vero scribo vobis quod de meis non detis sibi unum denarium. habuit ultra quam meruerit, de quo doleo. teneatis modum quod habeatis pannos meos et res meas, et dimittatis



eam in malediccione sua. non curo enim sive uxori velle sive non. nolo modo aliquo quod de meo habeat plus aliquid. et si dilligitis me, sic faciatis ut scribo vobis, et si aliter facietis, non solvam, quod certo credatis. nolo iactare meum sed volo reservare ut expendam ubi fuerit mihi magis necessarium. et in tantum concepi malum propter ea quae mihi scripta sunt de ea, quod nullo modo credere possum, quod puella illa, quam mihi scribitis eam peperisse, sit sua. novi enim iam diu malicias eius et matris ipsius, et multa sustinui ut bene faceret, quae minime ulterius sustinere volo. hoc factum tangit me et honorem meum. non excedatis voluntatem meam et firmus sitis quod ex deliberacione scribo vobis et scio quid scribo. et ideo pecuniam meam non expendatis ultra vel contra voluntatem meam, quia non bene faceretis, et debetis me plus dilligere quam mulierem hanc. et male fecistis expendere illos xxv ducatos contra voluntatem meam expressam, quia bene recordor me scripsisse vobis quod nullo modo emeritis ei raubam aliquam. de puella vero perquiratis veritatem, et si mea est, quod non credo, non deficiatis eidem puella. factum autem alterius puella quam habet Prosdocimus vobis instancius recomendo.

[10] Ut scripsi vobis per dictum archiepiscopum, feceram cum domino meo, domino archiepiscopo, quod ipse dispositus erat dare plebano Sancti Barnabe unam prebendam valoris iiii<sup>c</sup> ducatorum in anno et vobis unam aliam similem quae vacabant. sed postea ex quodam casu superveniente oportuit ut circa vestram mutaret propositum. sed adhuc spero quod intercessionibus et supplicationibus meis eritis canonicus istius ecclesie, quod ita libenter viderem sicut si essetis frater meus. et si plebanus nollet acceptare, puto quod dominus meus conferret vobis. si tamen velletis huc venire et residere, circa quod me certificetis, licet in literis vestris scribatis quod velletis libenter posse ducere vitam vestram hic. et sitis certus quod si vivam et Deus det ut promovear ad dignitatem aliquam, prout spero, quod faciam quod eritis bene beneficiatus. supplicetis Deo ut vivamus, vos et ego, qui non deficiet vobis quin sitis beneficiatus, et bene. et ad hoc vigilavi et vigillo et vigillabo pro posse.

[11] Dicatis plebano Sancti Barnabe ut subito rescribat mihi intencionem suam, si vult huc accedere vel non, quem salutetis millies ex mea parte, cui non scribo propter subitum huius portatoris recessum. recommendetis me domino primicerio Sancti Marci et domino Raphayno Cancelario. et salutetis dominum Petrum Callissoni et eius fratres et dominum Petrum Sagredo et Andreolum de Dardanis et Iohannem Lauretanum, et alios omnes socios et amicos millies ex mei parte prout videbitis convenire. recommendetis etiam me satis patruo et amite vestris. et salutetis fratrem vestrum et omnes de domo vestra et dominos Petrum Marcello et Nicolaum Vituri millies ex parte mea.

Valete quod iuxta vota in gratia Yhesu Christi, mei memor.  
Patrassii, xxvi aprilis, 1386.

Vester ut frater, Rodolphus de Sanctis,  
Decretorum Doctor, Canonicus Patracensis.

## III

*Corfu, 21 May 1386*

Venerabili et sapienti viro, domino Petro Spirito, Canonico Sancti Marci de Venetiis, amico carissimo. Al cambio de ser Franceschum Spirito in cavo del ponte de Rialto in Venexia.

Recepte. 1386, die iiii iunii.

[1] Frater et amice dilectissime, post salutem. die viii mensis istius recessi de Patrassio venturus Venetiis et iturus ad aliquas partes pro servitiis ecclesie et domini mei Patracensis. et appulli Corfu die xiii dicti mensis credens reperire navigium venturum Venetiis, nec repperi. et oportuit me hic esse pluribus diebus. et ser Matheus de Intelmis recepit me in domo sua et exhibuit mihi honorem maximum. cui obligor ultra modum quia si non fuisset ipse, male hic stabam quia locus iste destructus erat nec reperiuntur hospicia. et regraciemini suis ex parte vestra et mea, quia amore vestri sic me tractavit ut filium.

[2] Tandem gratia Dei evenit quod libentissime vidi, ymo ultra quam exprimere possum, nec vellem modo aliquo hic non fuisse. nam die dominico, xx huius mensis, dominus Iohannes Myani, Capitaneus Culphi, pacifice et quiete et cum beneplacito omnium civium, nobilium et popularium, cum de nocte habuisset castrum vetus ab illo qui illud tenebat, habuit civitatem istam. et ista die de mane omnes unanimiter et concorditer prestiterunt eidem, nomine comunitatis nostre, obedientiam et reverentiam et sacramentum fidelitatis. nec restat nisi castrum novum, sed speratur quod infra modicos dies reducetur ad obedientiam Dominacionis nostre. intus est dominus Iacobus Scrovigno, qui erat capitaneus, et quidam qui vocatur Baxilius, qui erat officialis Regis Karoli. sed ut audio, Sanctus Marchus reducet castellum illud ad nostros sicut et aliud. et certe ita gavisus sum de hoc sicut de aliqua re quam videre potuissem. laudetur Deus.

[3] Ego vero volo hinc recedere usque ad modicos dies et ire Mothono, et inde mittam unum nuncium domino meo et sciam quid velit de me ordinare et si cum beneplacito eius potero, ibo usque Candiam et ordinabo de beneficiis meis et factis meis et ex omni parte congregabo pecuniam. et cum galeis nostris, Deo concedente, veniam Venetiis iturus ad curiam recta via, et disposui fieri auditor Pape et servire in Rota, ut si occurrat casus possim et ego habere aliquam ecclesiam. Dominus tamen faciat de me quod bonum est in oculis eius.



[4] Hanc literam quam vobis ante per multos dies scripseram, ut videre poteritis, non misit vobis ser Matheus de Intelmis predictus, ad quem eam miseram de Patrassio, quia non venit navigium hinc Venetiis. eam autem vobis mito et rogo quod faciatis iuxta contenta in ea. nec excedatis voluntatem meam circha Franceschinam quia non bene faceretis. et dicam vobis veritatem quia nunquam dilexi eam tantum quam de presenti habeam eam exosam propter meretricia eius et malicias, et male, ymo pessime, fecistis emere ei raubam aliquam quia non erat mee intencionis ut sepe vobis scripsi. et si fuisset voluntatis mee bene scripsissem vobis, quod non feci. ymo scripsi vobis quod nullo modo emeritis ei et bene poterat contentari de vestimentis que habebat, si habuisset intencionem bonam, sed male ei. intencio mea est quod non habeat de meo unum denarium nec aliquid aliud. ex quo sic fecistis, habeat pannos suos, quos rehabere non possum nec volo, et sufficit ei. nec detis ei aliquid aliud de meo, etiam minimum, nec ministretis ei ulterius expensas. in veritate, ut et alias scripsi vobis, a iii<sup>or</sup> annis citra expendi in hac muliere ultra iii<sup>e</sup> ducatos, quos, si haberem, essem melioris voluntatis quam sim, sed non potest non fuisse.

[5] Nescio quid faciet plebanus Sancti Barnabe, sed libenter viderem quod veniret Patrassium, et propter eum et propter me, tamen spero habere ipsius certum responsum per ser Natalem Nigro. tunc si veniam Venetiis, bene quidem, si non, scribam vobis ad plenum. recomendetis me patruo et amite vestris et salutetis fratrem vestrum et omnes socios et amicos millies ex parte mea. Valetate feliciter, mei memor.

In Corfu, xxi madii, 1386.

Vester ut frater, Rodulphus de Sanctis,  
Decretorum Doctor, Canonicus Patracensis.

## IV

*Candia, 24 September 1386.*

Venerabili et sapienti viro, domino Petro Spirito, Canonico Sancti Marci de Venetiis, fratri carissimo. In Venexia. Recepte. 1386, mensis octubris, die 20.

[1] Frater dilectissime, post salutem. per aliam literam quam dedi ser Santucio de Benedeto, patrono huius choche, ad plenum scripsi vobis. Mito vobis per hanc chocham vasa malvasie vi, scilicet, iii<sup>or</sup> caratellos de quartis iii<sup>or</sup> pro quolibet, et duas botas de quartis viii per qualibet. et omnia dicta vasa sunt nova et signata cum igne hoc signo  $\Theta^*$ , quia signata erant antequam ipsa emerem cum endego — non sunt signata <...> arma mea — et ante et retro. misi vobis cedula[m] scrinari navis interclusam in alia litera et debetis

\* The actual sign in the MS is more complicated and cannot be reproduced in print.

solvere pro miliario ducatos iii, uti in dicta cedula videre poteritis. faciatis de dicta malvasia ut in alia litera scribo, et bibatis cum leticia ante adventum meum, si bona est, quia multum gratum habebo.

[2] Item mito vobis unam ballettam coperiam de canevasa in qua sunt due cultre nove de zalo et iubeo unius forme et unius magnitudinis quas emi feceram pro familia dum essem Patrassii. item sunt etiam tres petie telle, una petia de lxvi pichis, alia de lii et tertia de xxviii, illius autem lignum est mensura pichi. item sunt etiam iii<sup>or</sup> fazoli pro monialibus pulcerimi, quos emi feci pro nepte vestra. si videtur vobis dare eos incontinenti nepti vestre, sum contentus, et si videtur vobis differre usque ad adventum meum, potestis differre. tamen hoc committo sapientie vestre. promitto vobis quod non potui habere pulchriores et constituerunt ducatos iii ÷, sed nichil volo ab ea nisi purum amorem, quia temporibus preteritis multa donavit mihi, et ego nunquam dedi ei aliquid. salutetisque eam millies ex mei parte.

[3] Spero cum Dei gratia usque ad dies viii hinc recedere, iturus Mothono. cum ibi fuero mittam unum familiarem meum ad dominum archiepiscopum Patracensem ad sciendum de factis meis et quid vult ordinare. ibique expectabo galeas nostras et cum ipsis veniam Venetiis. cum autem fuero Venetiis, si Papa erit extra Ianuam, omnino ibo ad eum ad experiendum fortunam meam. si vero adhuc erit Ianue, faciam iuxta consilium amicorum.

[4] Videtur mihi quod contra omnem voluntatem meam velitis tenere illam meretricem pessimam Franceschinam expensis meis. cum tamen sepius vobis scripserim quod nichil de meo deberetis eidem ministrare, et dicitis quod vultis eam sic sustinere de consensu plebani Sancti Barnabe. frater charissime, plebanus non apponit nisi verba. hoc factum me solum tangit et, ut sepiissime alias scripsi vobis, credatis quod nullo modo ero contentus quod de meo in ea expenderitis etiam ad valorem unius denarii. ideo procuretis habere ante adventum meum omnia mea ab ea, ut quando veniam, non habeam cum ea litigare propter honorem meum. sum enim dispositus si potero nunquam videre eam, et melius poteritis recuperare mea in absentia mea quam in presentia. propter honorem sic rogo instanter ut faciatis et non dimittatis ei de meo etiam ad valorem unius denarii. si sciretis que scio ego de ea, non moveremini pietate circha eam, et sitis certus quod non sine causa ita scribo et moneor contra eam. alia de presenti scribere non habeo. iuxtaque vota valetate, mei memor.

Candie, xxiiii septembris 1386.

Vester ut frater, Rodulphus de Sanctis,  
Decretorum Doctor, Canonicus Patracensis.

[retro] Mando ve peze iii<sup>o</sup> de formaio in un ligazo che s'e in una canevasa signada con la mia arma. feucla dar et manged per mio amor. R. de Sanctis, ut supra.

## COMMENTARY ON THE LETTERS

The following commentary is intended chiefly to clarify certain obscure points and to identify, when possible, the persons mentioned in the letters of Rodolfo de Sanctis. The omission of a name in this commentary simply means that no definite information was discovered about the individual in question.

## Letter I

(1) From 23 October to 8 March was indeed a long time for a letter from Venice to arrive in Patras, but during the winter months sea communication was notoriously slow and uncertain; even official ducal letters could take as long as two months to Crete.<sup>59</sup>

(3) Lucia was the name given to the baby girl born to Franzeschina.<sup>60</sup> Prodocimus and her child are again mentioned in Letter II 9, but nothing further is known about them and neither is referred to in Rodolfo's will.

(4) Niccolò Foscari († 1400) was the brother of Paolo, the Archbishop of Patras, and father of Francesco, later Doge of Venice (1423-1457).<sup>61</sup>

*Plebanus S. Barnabe*: Pietro Corrosatis was the *pievano* (parish priest) of the Church of San Barnaba in Venice from 1370 to 1402<sup>62</sup> and is mentioned frequently in these four letters. He witnessed a financial transaction for Rodolfo on 17 February 1388,<sup>63</sup> and on 10 July 1394 acknowledged the receipt of 107 pounds from the Procurators of San Marco for various expenses undertaken by him in Rodolfo's name.<sup>64</sup>

(5) *Ille episcopus de ordine predicatorum*: there is no way of learning precisely who is referred to here. Perhaps it is Giacomo Pietro Pigalordi, O.P., Bishop of Argos, who had made a voyage from Corinth to Venice, stopping at Patras, two years earlier.<sup>65</sup> Possibly he remained in Venice (although he was scheduled to leave for Greece on 15 March 1385) and while there received the news or rumors that Rodolfo alludes to.

Pietro Solario is listed as parish rector of San Giovanni in Oleo in Venice from 1361 to 1386.<sup>66</sup>

(6) *Cha Delphino*, that is, Casa Dolfín. *Ille fatuus*, then, must have been a member of the Dolfín family, or else have resided on the street where there

<sup>59</sup> Cf. F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Âge* (Paris 1959) 188.

<sup>60</sup> *Busta* 62, *Commissaria* fol. 4.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Barbaro, *Geneologia* (unedited): *cod. Marcianus italicus* VII 926 (coll. 8595) fol. 129v-130.

<sup>62</sup> Cornelius, *Eccl. Ven.* 5.379, 10.288.

<sup>63</sup> *Busta* 62, *Note di Conto* 6.

<sup>64</sup> *Busta* 62, *Parch. Doc.* 12.

<sup>65</sup> Eubel, *Hier. Cath.* 106. The Bishop left Romania on 15 November 1384; during January and February 1385 he fell ill in Venice, and on 15 March 1385 was scheduled to depart for the East: A. Rubió i Lluch, *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català* (Barcelona 1947) no. 574, p. 611-13.

<sup>66</sup> Cornelius, *Eccl. Ven.* 12.221.

was a house belonging to them, Cà (Casa) Dolfín. This could have been on the present Calle Dolfín in the parish of San Canciano (*sestiere Cannaregio*) or that in the parish of San Pantaleone (*sestiere San Polo*).

(7) The priest Paul is also mentioned in Letter II 2, but nothing else is known about him.<sup>67</sup>

Marco Geno (Zeno) was Duke of Crete from 1385 to 1387.

*Domino Cancelario*: Raffain Caresini, born about 1314, devoted most of his life to the service of Venice; from 1365 to his death in 1390 he was Chancellor of the Republic. He also wrote a chronicle in Latin covering the years 1343-1388.<sup>68</sup>

(8) Francesco Falier came from a famous Venetian family, held a degree in Canon Law and had previously been a canon of Coron and Modon. He was named Bishop of Modon on 26 January 1368, occupying that see until 21 November 1390, when he was transferred to Castello (Venice). There he died on 27 March 1392.<sup>69</sup>

(9) *Novelle decretalium et [novelle] sesti*: these are the *Novella commentaria* of Joannes Andreae on the Decretals of Gregory IX and on the *Liber Sextus Decretalium* of Boniface VIII.<sup>70</sup>

Maurezeni (Morosini) was a common Venetian name; the Nicola Morosini mentioned here may have been the canon lawyer and Bishop of Venice who died in 1379.<sup>71</sup> Another Nicola, who also had the title of Doctor, was the father of Antonio Morosini, referred to in Rodolfo's will and in paragraph 19 of this letter.

Aloisio de Priolis (Priuli) was one of four officials designated to welcome the Emperor on his visit to Venice in 1369.<sup>72</sup> In 1375 he took part in an expedition against Verona, and in September 1381 he was a member of the Venetian Senate.<sup>73</sup> Sometime later he was appointed Venetian consul in Patras where, on 13 October 1385, he witnessed the purchase of a slave by Rodolfo.<sup>74</sup> Two years later he held the post of Bailie of Corfu.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>67</sup> A list of the *Plebani S. Viti* is given in Cornelius, *Eccl. Ven.* 1.111.

<sup>68</sup> Ed. E. Pastorello, *RIS* 12.2 (Bologna 1923). A good account of his life is given in the introduction.

<sup>69</sup> Eubel, *Hier. Cath.* 351, 171; Cornelius, *Eccl. Ven.* 14.461-2. Falier is mentioned in the deliberations of the Venetian Senate for 26 April 1374 (Thiriet, *Régestes* no. 538, p. 133), for 2 October 1384 (*ibid.* no. 681, p. 165) and for 1 May 1386 (*Arch. Ven. Senato, Misti* 40, fol. 25v - not in Thiriet).

<sup>70</sup> Cf. A. Van Hove, *Commentarium Lovaniense in Codicem Iuris Canonici* I 1: *Prolegomena* (Mechlin - Rome 1945) 479, 482.

<sup>71</sup> Eubel, *Hier. Cath.* 171; cf. Cicogna, *Inscrizioni Veneziane* 1.159.

<sup>72</sup> Marino Sanudo, *Vite de' Duchi di Venezia*, ed. L. A. Muratori, *RIS* 22 (Milan 1733) 746 B. Also cf. Barbaro, *Geneologia*, *cod. Marcianus italicus* VII 928 (coll. 8597) fol. 9-11.

<sup>73</sup> Chronicle of Gian Giacompo Caroldo (unedited), *cod. Marcianus it.* VII 128a (coll. 8639) fol. 370v, 442. The same year he owed four ducats to Rodolfo: *Busta* 62, *Note di Conto* 3.

<sup>74</sup> *Busta* 62, *Parch. Doc.* 1.

<sup>75</sup> Thiriet, *Régestes* no. 733, p. 177.

(10) *Rex Karolus*: Charles III of Durazzo, King of Naples from 1381, was also crowned King of Hungary on 31 December 1385. Rodolfo's enthusiasm, however, was somewhat premature, for Charles was murdered in June of the following year. Which King Louis was supported by Bixius is uncertain: King Louis II of Hungary had died in 1382; Louis I d'Anjou, claimant to the Kingdom of Naples, died in October 1384; his son, Louis II, also claimed Naples, but was only nine years old in 1386.

Pope Urban VI was journeying up and down Italy from 1383 to 1388. On 7 July 1385 he hastily departed from Nocera near Naples, where he had been besieged by Charles of Durazzo; on 23 September he arrived in Genoa and remained there until mid-December 1386.<sup>76</sup>

(11) Angelo, whose family name is unknown, was archpriest and a canon of Padua as well as professor of Canon Law at the University there, and it was he who officially presented Rodolfo to the examining board for the licentiate.<sup>77</sup> In his financial notes, apparently for 1381, Rodolfo records a debt of four ducats to Master Angelo.<sup>78</sup>

Francesco de Lanzaigo was a canon of Treviso and a papal secretary whose signature occurs frequently in the Registers of Pope Urban VI. He died in Rome on 19 February 1400, and his will together with certain other papers are preserved in the State Archives in Venice.<sup>79</sup>

(12) Francesco Carrara, the ruler of Padua and an old enemy of Venice, had invaded Friuli (Forum Iulii) and by spring 1385 was rapidly subduing the region.<sup>80</sup> The Signoria was understandably alarmed at the possibility of the Alpine passes falling into hostile hands and, by a skillful alliance with the Duke of Milan, Giangaleazzo Visconti, succeeded in defeating Carrara.

*Quantum vellent imprestita et etiam setta*: *Imprestitum*, usually meaning a loan, can also have the meaning of a contribution (sometimes forced) from the citizens in a common necessity; *setta* (for *secta*) can mean a military force.<sup>80a</sup> It seems, then, that Rodolfo is here asking how much the Venetian citizens are required to contribute to the military effort against Padua and to the hiring of mercenaries. He could also be asking whether these contributions and troops are really proving effective or helpful in the struggle (*valeo* sometimes means aid or assist).

(16) *Archiepiscopus Neopatensis*: the more common spelling is *Neopactensis* (the modern Nafaktos or Lepanto), but it is not known who was archbishop

<sup>76</sup> Cf. his itinerary given in M. Rothbarth, *Urban VI. und Neapel* (Abhandlungen zur mittleren und neueren Geschichte 49; Berlin - Leipzig 1913) 89-92.

<sup>77</sup> Gloria, *Monumenti della Università di Padova* II 130, 173.

<sup>78</sup> Busta 62, *Note di Conto* 3.

<sup>79</sup> Arch. Ven. *Atti dei Procuratori di San Marco*, Busta 177, *Commissaria Francesco da Lancenigo*.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Raphayni de Caresinis, *Chronica* AA. 1343-1388, ed. E. Pastorello, RIS<sup>3</sup> 12.2 (Bologna 1923) 63-66. Also cf. D. M. Bueno de Mesquita, *Giangaleazzo Visconti Duke of Milan (1351-1402)* (Cambridge 1941) 69-81.

<sup>80a</sup> Cf. Du Cange s. vv. *praestare* (1) and *setta*.

at this time.<sup>81</sup> It is quite possible, however, that Rodolfo wrote *Neopatensis* for *Neopatensis*, *Neopatria* (the modern Hypate), in which case the archbishop would be Matthew, a Franciscan.<sup>82</sup> Rodolfo also added that the archbishop would have news 'et de me et statu Patriae.' *Patria* in this context could mean merely 'the city,' that is, Patras; it could also be the Latin term for *La Patria*, a name by which *Neopatria* was sometimes called.

(17) At this time the Abbot of the monastery of San Giorgio in Venice was Paolo Tarvisino, while the Abbot of San Gregorio was named Giovanni.<sup>83</sup>

Giovanni Loredan was *primicerius* of San Marco from 1354 to 1390, when he was named Bishop of Capodistria.<sup>84</sup>

Nicola Vituri was an elector of Doge Antonio Venier on 21 October 1382 and in June 1388 one of the ambassadors to Duke Albert of Austria.<sup>85</sup>

A Messer Piero Sagredo is listed among the Venetians taken prisoner by the Paduans on 14 May 1373.<sup>86</sup> In September 1377 an individual of the same name held the title of *capellanus perpetuus* of San Marco.<sup>87</sup>

Giovanni Lauretano (Loredan) is presumably not the *primicerius* of San Marco, who bore the same name, common enough in Venice. In 1355 we find a Giovanni Loredan among the electors of Doge Giovanni Gradenigo.<sup>88</sup> In 1368 a Giovanni Loredan was *castellano* of Modon, and in 1396 was sent by the Senate on a mission to Romania.<sup>89</sup> Another Giovanni Loredan was rector of the parish of SS. Hermagora e Fortunato in 1389 and canon of San Marco in 1393.<sup>90</sup>

Andreolo de Dardanis was a ducal notary to whom Rodolfo once owed money.<sup>91</sup>

(19) Antonio Maurezeni (Morosini), the son of Nicola, borrowed ten ducats from Rodolfo to purchase two books (probably in 1381).<sup>92</sup> Reference to further borrowing between the two occurs in Rodolfo's will:

Item. habeo duos libros qui vocantur Berengarii, unum super toto corpore iuris et alium super Speculo Iuris et unum alium libellum in papiro in quo sunt repetitiones aliquae et aliqua alia, qui libri fuerint Antonii Mauroceno, quondam Nicolai Doctoris. mutuavi eidem Antonio ducatos viginti et unum ducatum pro aptatura Be

<sup>81</sup> Eubel, *Hier. Cath.* 362, lists Juan de Reyo, appointed in 1382 by Clement VII, a fact which would make it most unlikely that he was on friendly terms with the supporters of Urban VI in Patras.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.* 362. Also cf. Loenertz, 'Athènes et Néopatras' (*supra*, n. 2) *passim*.

<sup>83</sup> Cornelius, *Ecl. Ven.* 8.166, 9.351-2.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.* 10.183-5.

<sup>85</sup> Sanudo, *Vite de' Duchi* 749 C; Arch. Ven. *Senato, Secreta* E fol. 22. Cf. Barbaro, *Genealogia, cod. Marcian. it. VII* 928 (coll. 8597) fol. 191<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>86</sup> Caroldo, *Chronicle, cod. cit.* (n. 73 *supra*) fol. 366.

<sup>87</sup> Cornelius, *Ecl. Ven.* 10.288.

<sup>88</sup> Caresini, *Chronica* 12. Some five streets in Venice still bear the name Loredan.

<sup>89</sup> Thiriet, *Régestes* no. 467, p. 119; no. 917, p. 214.

<sup>90</sup> Cornelius, *Ecl. Ven.* 1.301, 10.291.

<sup>91</sup> Busta 62, *Note di Conto* 3; also cf. *Commissaria* fol. 5<sup>v</sup>, Parch. Doc. 6 (23 January 1392) and Parch. Doc. 11 (7 July 1394). For the name cf. Cicogna, *Inscrizioni Veneziane* 1.75, 2.26.

<sup>92</sup> Busta 62, *Note di Conto* 3.

rengarii maioris. si velet rehabere dictos libros, redat xxi ducatos et restituantur ei. [alia manu] Nota quod suprascripti libri non fuerunt inventi, et tamen, dato quod inventi fuissent ipsi libri, dictus Antonius dixit nollet eos exigere.<sup>93</sup>

*Ieronimianus*, or more correctly, *Hieronimianus*; a short work on the life, sayings and miracles of St. Jerome by the canonist Joannes Andreae.<sup>93a</sup>

(21) *Marzaria*: the *Merceria* or principal shopping street in Venice.

Natale Nigro was the captain of a galley bearing twenty soldiers to Patras in spring 1384.<sup>94</sup> On 13 October 1385 he witnessed the purchase of a slave in Rodolfo's house in Patras.<sup>95</sup> In May 1386 Rodolfo was awaiting his arrival on Corfu (Letter III 5). The term 'admiral' (*admiratus*) designates the supervisor or manager of the *Arsenale*, that is, the famous naval yards in Venice (or possibly the one in Crete). It could also mean the official in charge of one of the colonial naval bases, a sort of Captain of the Port.<sup>96</sup>

## Letter II

(2) *Capitaneus Culphi*: The Captain of the Gulf was the supreme commander of the Venetian naval police whose primary duty was to maintain Venetian control of the Adriatic (the Gulf). His actual task, however, was much broader: he was to patrol the sea at least as far as Crete, to escort merchant convoys and, on occasion, to defend Venetian interests in the Aegean.<sup>97</sup> From about 1382 to 1387 or 1388 this responsible post was held by Giovanni Miani, who was later named Venetian Bailie in Constantinople.<sup>98</sup>

Bertuccio Contareno (Contarini) held a number of official positions in Venice during this period.<sup>99</sup>

Vitale Lando played a prominent part in the Chioggia War of 1376-1381, commanding a galley in the attack against Chioggia and aiding in the defense of the Lido in 1379.<sup>100</sup> In July 1383 he was sent as ambassador to Padua.<sup>101</sup> During 1385-1386 he was *castellano* (governor) of Modon and Coron,<sup>102</sup> and in June 1388 he was one of the Venetian envoys to Albert of Austria.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>93</sup> Busta 62, *Commissaria* fol. 4v. The two books referred to as 'Berengarii' are the *Inventarium iuris canonici* and the *Inventarium speculi iudicialis (iuris)*, both written by Berengarius Fredoli. Cf. P. Viollet, 'Bérenger Frédol, canoniste,' *Histoire littéraire de la France* 34 (1914) 165, 174.

<sup>93a</sup> Cf. J. F. von Schulte, *Die Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des canonischen Rechts von Gratian bis auf die Gegenwart* (3 vols. Stuttgart 1875-1880) II 217.

<sup>94</sup> Deliberation of the Venetian Senate for 15 March 1384: Arch. Ven. *Senato*, *Misti* 38, fol. 107 (missing in Thiriet).

<sup>95</sup> Busta 62, Parch. Doc. 1.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne* 250-251.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.* 248-9.

<sup>98</sup> Thiriet, *Régestes* no. 621, p. 152; no. 720, p. 174; no. 795, p. 191.

<sup>99</sup> Caroldo, *Chronicle*, *cod. cit.* fol. 402v, 414v; Sanudo, *Vite de' Duchi* 744 E, 779 D; Caresini, *Chronica* 49.

<sup>100</sup> Caroldo fol. 410v, 421; Caresini 39.

<sup>101</sup> Sanudo, *Vite de' Duchi* 769 A.

<sup>102</sup> On 12 March and 29 May 1387 he was referred to by the Senate as 'olim castellano Coroni et Mothoni': Arch. Ven. *Senato*, *Misti* 40, fol. 62v, 69v.

<sup>103</sup> Arch. Ven. *Senato*, *Secreta* E fol. 22.

(4) Antonio Contareno (Contarini) was named Archbishop of Crete (Candia) before 23 December 1385 when Pietro Spirito wrote to Rodolfo, but it was not until 6 April 1386 that he undertook to pay the customary taxes to the Apostolic Camera, *per procuratorem*.<sup>104</sup> He died on 22 March 1387.<sup>105</sup>

(5) Giovanni Gradenigo was a prominent Venetian who had represented the Republic at the court of Hungary in 1379<sup>106</sup> and at the signing of the peace treaty of Turin in 1381.<sup>107</sup> The following year he served as ambassador to Genoa.<sup>108</sup> Sometime later he must have been in the Levant, for the Senate's commission to Piero Malipiero of 18 February 1389 refers to a report of Gradenigo concerning the situation in the Morea.<sup>109</sup>

(6) Ambrose of Parma was Bishop of Concordia (near Venice) from 1380 to 1389.<sup>110</sup> *Novella sesti*: see Letter I 9.

(7) Pietro de Compostellis was a Venetian notary,<sup>111</sup> who drew up the testament of Rodolfo and handled some of his financial transactions.<sup>112</sup>

## Letter III

(Inscription) Francesco Spirito, perhaps the brother of Pietro, paid a debt for Rodolfo in February 1389 and is also mentioned in one of the documents concerning his estate.<sup>113</sup>

(1) The destruction in the port of Corfu was also a matter of concern to the Venetian Senate which, on 12 August, ordered Marino Malipiero sent there as *provisor* to begin the necessary repairs immediately.<sup>114</sup>

(2) Raffain Caresini briefly describes the Venetian acquisition of Corfu, which he places on 9 June 1386, as follows:

... Universitas Corphiensis, optans beate et pacifice vivere, caelesti numine inspirata, deliberavit reverti ad suavissimum regimen ducalis excellentiae Venetiarum, sub qua fuit antiquitus benignissime gubernata. Sicque Dei nomine invocato, spon-

<sup>104</sup> Eubel, *Hier. Cath.* 215.

<sup>105</sup> Thiriet, *Régestes* no. 725, p. 175.

<sup>106</sup> Sanudo, *Vite de' Duchi* 687 A, 674 C. Another Giovanni Gradenigo had been Doge of Venice (1355-1356).

<sup>107</sup> *Liber iurium Reipublicae Genuensis*, ed. H. Ricciotti (*Patriae historiae Monumenta* 9; Turin 1857) II 891a.

<sup>108</sup> Caresini, *Chronica* 60; Sanudo, *Vita de' Duchi* 746 D, 749 A.

<sup>109</sup> Thiriet, *Régestes* no. 748, p. 180.

<sup>110</sup> Eubel, *Hier. Cath.* 201. On 12 August and 19 December 1386 the Venetian Senate decided to recommend him to the Pope: Arch. Ven. *Senato*, *Misti* 40, fol. 41, 53.

<sup>111</sup> His name appears as a notary in 1343 and 1360: Cornelius, *Eccl. Ven.* 1.111, 3.377. On 3 June 1382 he was sent to the Prince of Taranto in connection with the negotiations regarding Corfu: Thiriet, *Régestes* no. 626, p. 153; Caroldo, *Chronicle*, *cod. cit.* fol. 448v.

<sup>112</sup> Busta 62, *Commissaria* fol. 4-5; *Note di Conto* 6 (22 June 1389); Parch. Doc. 4 (28 February 1390).

<sup>113</sup> Busta 62, *Note di Conto* 6; Parch. Doc. 8 (8 February 1392).

<sup>114</sup> Thiriet, *Régestes* no. 712, p. 172.

lanea et matura deliberatione, elegit in capitaneum suum nobilem virum Ioannem Miani, tunc capitaneum gulphi.<sup>115</sup>

Giacomo Scrovigno, who had been one of the Paduan leaders at the capture of Chioggia in 1379, was defending Corfu on behalf of Charles of Durazzo.<sup>116</sup> In August 1386 the fortress of Sant' Angelo in the northwest of the island was still holding out, and the Senate ordered Marino Malipiero to employ all possible means to secure possession of it.<sup>117</sup> Actually, negotiations for the annexation of Corfu had been going on since 1382 and were formally concluded only in 1402. The promises made to the inhabitants by Miani were solemnly recognized by Venice on 8 January 1387.<sup>118</sup>

#### Letter IV

(2) Several words in this paragraph are rare and seem to require some explanation. *Balletta*: a small bale or package of merchandise; it is the diminutive of *balla* and also occurs in the form, *baleta*.<sup>119</sup> *Canevaza*: canvas; instead of the more usual medieval forms such as *canabacius*, *canevacium*, etc., Rodolfo has employed the Venetian dialect form, *canevaza* (or *canevazza*; modern Italian *canevaccio*). *Zalo et iubeo*: my attempts to discover the meaning of these two words have been unsuccessful. *Zalo* is the Venetian spelling of the Italian *giallo* (yellow); perhaps some yellowish metal such as gold is meant, or possibly amber. *Iubeus* can mean a breastplate and, in this context, could conceivably indicate the metal frequently employed in their manufacture.<sup>120</sup> *Fazolus*: handkerchief; compare modern Italian *fazzoletto*.

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<sup>115</sup> *Chronica* 62. Cf. S. Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia* (2nd ed. Venice 1913) III 315-16; he gives the same date as Rodolfo, 20 May 1386.

<sup>116</sup> Caroldo, *Chronicle*, *cod. cit.* fol. 414, 424<sup>v</sup>, 456.

<sup>117</sup> Thiriet, *Régestes* no. 712, p. 172.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.* no. 720. p. 174.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. A. M. Bautier, 'Contribution à un vocabulaire économique du midi de la France' *Archivum latinitatis medii aevi* (*Bulletin Du Cange*) 26 (1956) 5-74, esp. 6-7.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Du Cange s. v. *iubeus*; also Bautier, *op. cit.* (continued in the same periodical, 27 [1957] 241-286) 286. s. v. *jupa*.

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### THREE REPORTS FROM CRETE ON THE SITUATION IN ROMANIA, 1401-1402

Essential to Venetian prosperity was an accurate knowledge of political and economic conditions in the vitally important commercial regions of the Levant. For information on these the Signoria relied on reports from its governors and representatives, who generally seem to have done their task well. All current news and rumors were relayed to the mother city, and a glance through the records of the Venetian Senate shows that good use was consistently made of these reports in its deliberations.

This article presents three such reports, which are found in the State Archives in Venice in the series, *Notai di Candia*, under the name of the notary, Francesco Avonal. Although published by N. Iorga some seventy-five years ago, they are now relatively inaccessible.<sup>1</sup> For this reason, as well as because of their historical importance, it seems well to edit them again and to add a translation and commentary. These brief documents provide a good example of the type of report sent to Venice from its colonies.

The Eastern situation in the years 1400 to 1403 was an extremely unstable and uncertain one: the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus was away seeking military aid in Western Europe and had left Constantinople in the care of his nephew John VII, whom the Venetians had no reason to like or to trust; the capital itself had been closely besieged since 1394 by the Turkish Emir Bajezid, whose troops were also ravaging Southern Greece and the Balkans; still far to the East were the brutal Mongol hordes of

1. N. IORGA, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades au XVe siècle* in "Revue de l'Orient Latin", 4 (1896); document 1, 244-46; document 3, 248-49; document 2, *Acte și fragmente cu privire la istoria Românilor adunate din depozitele de manuscrise ale apusului*, 3, vol., Bucharest 1895-97, III, 4-5.

Timur, or Tamerlane, whose intentions, while perhaps not clear, were certainly dangerous. Any bit of news from the Levant, then, was of the utmost interest to the Venetian government.

The documents published here concern three merchants, one Genoese and two Greeks, who on arriving at Candia in Crete were asked by the Venetian authorities there to tell them what news they might have heard. Their reports were written down by the notary Francesco Avonal and sent to Venice as soon as possible. The handwriting of the documents shows little care, as though they were hastily jotted down, and there are a number of corrections. In the present edition words which have been cancelled are enclosed within [], while additions or corrections are indicated by ' '.

## TEXT

*Venezia, Archivio di Stato,  
Notai di Candia, Atti di Francesco Avonal.*

### 1.

*Candia, 10 settembre 1401.*

die x septembris 1401.

(1) Ser Iacobus de Orado, Ianuensis, qui nuper venit de Romania, narravit hec nova dominio.

(2) Dixit quod ispe recessit de Constantinopoli die xxiiij augusti, et ambaxatores imperatoris Caloiani et Venetorum ac Ianuensium recesserunt de Constantinopoli pro eundo ad matrem Zalapi que erat in Bursa pro tractando pacem die vj augusti predicti, qui quidem ambaxatores ex parte imperatoris erant archiepiscopus Gutie et quidam nobilis Molissinus, ex parte Ianuensium erat

## THREE REPORTS FROM CRETE ON THE SITUATION IN ROMANIA, 1401-1402

Kirsus de Tadeo, ex parte Venetorum dominus baiulus. qui ambaxatores postquam applicuerunt Bursam fuerunt bene visi et bene tractati a domina predicta, et sicut dicitur ipsi obtinuerunt totam suam intentionem 'de habendo pacem' sicut petebant. nam illi de Pera contenti fuerunt dare omni anno yperpera quinque milia Turcho, non pro tributo sed pro dono, et quod imperator Constantinopolis deberet dare omni anno tributum solitum, et quod dominus imperator haberet omnia castra maritima et loca que habebat ante gueram. qui ambaxatores habita sua intentione suprascripta 'de pace' debebant ire ad Basaithum, qui dicebatur quod erat in contractis Sevastie, pro confirmando secum pacem predictam, et debebant recedere dicti ambaxatores de Bursia die primo septembris presentis pro eundo ad dominum Basaithum.

(3) Item. narat suprascriptus quod die xviiiij augusti applicuit Peyram una galea armata Ianuensium veniens de Trapesonda cum qua venerunt duo ambaxatores Timerbey, quorum unus vocatur frater Franciscus, ordine predicatorum, et alter est sara-cenus. qui venerunt ad imperatorem Romanie et ad illos de Peyra pro hortando eos 'quod stent in suis terminis quod non faciant pactum cum Turcho' quia post collectores bladorum dictus Timerbegi debebat ire contra Basaithum Turchum, et sic promittebant dicti ambaxatores affirmantes quod Timerbegi erat venturus absque falo aliquo contra Turchum. et facta relatione ambaxate et habita responsione, quam responsionem tamen hic Iacobus ignorat, dicti ambaxatores erat recessuri de Peyra cum una galea Bartholomei Spignola pro eundo Trapesundam.

(4) Item. narrat suprascriptus quod Timerbegi suprascriptus reperitur in partibus propinquis Sevastie per dietas tres [duas] et quod filius Timerbegi reperit se in campo cum filio Basaithi, sed filius dicti Timerbegi confligit filium Turchi cum xv<sup>m</sup> Turchorum, et dicitur quod exercitus Timerbegi est septingentorum milium armatorum, sine aliis portantibus instrumenta apta ad preliandum contra castra.

(5) Item. narrat quod habitum fuit novum de Caffa quod due coche Venete applicuerunt Thanam, et tertia fuit ad Trapesundam cum salute, et quod expectabantur curus 300 saluminum et specierum sicut dicebatur in Thana.

(6) Item. narat suprascriptus quod Toctamis, imperator Tartarorum, aufugit de Citerchan et nescitur quo iverit, et sperabatur quod tota Tartaria staret in pacifico statu.

(7) Item. narrat quod in Caffa erat copia bladorum, et valebat modium frumenti aspros centum. in Romania valebat yperpera xxiiij modium.

(8) Item. narrat quod in Galipoli non erat aliqua armata galearum, sed dicebatur quod alique galee Galipolis iverunt ad partes Salonichi.

Facta est per unam manum die xj septembris, per aliam die xij eiusdem.

2.

*Candia, 3 marzo 1402.*

mccccij mensis marcij die iij.

(1) Hemanuel Calogeniti de Eno qui applicuit Candidam cum una sua griparia die suprascripto veniens de Eno narravit dominio quod in mense novembris nuper elapsi iste fuit in partibus [falai] Thesalonicensibus et vidit gentes Turchorum qui revertebantur de partibus Ungarie ad quas iverant pro depredando. a quibus Turchis audivit iste qualiter lxxvj<sup>m</sup> Turchorum iverant ad partes Ungarie pro depredando, et derobaverant multas et innumeras gentes et cum depredatione predicta redierunt ad partes Vlachie superpositas Turcho, et ibi voluit capitaneus exercitus accipere pendameriam, scilicet de quibuslibet quinque captivis unum se-

THREE REPORTS FROM CRETE ON THE SITUATION IN ROMANIA, 1401-1402

cundum morem suum. et dum sic forent in dictis partibus Vlachie venit illuc exercitus magnus de Hungaria cum quodam nomine Milço Vlachio et conflegit dictos Turchos taliter quod [omnes] Turchi fuerunt 'aliqui' capti et 'aliqui' occisi et aliqui sumersi, et non evaserunt nisi circa tria milia Turchorum qui redierunt ad partes Turchie salvi.

(2) Item. narravit suprascriptus quod in prima die quadragesime presentis habitum fuit novum in Chio de partibus Focharum Antiquarum qualiter filius Tamberlay subiugavit Arçingay et Magnam Sevastiam et cetera loca que Turchus acquisiverat in partibus illis, et postea in contractis Magne Sevastie fuit exercitus Turchorum circa septuaginta milium et fuit ad manus cum exercitu dicti filij Tamberlay taliter quod filius Tamberlay remansit victor [et occidit] et non evaserunt de exercitu Turchorum nisi circa tria milia Turchorum qui fugierunt. Baysith autem qui erat in Bursia et parabat ire contra Constantinopolim et miserat congregari exercitum per territoria sua, audito novo de conflictu dicti sui exercitus ordinavit quod dearmarentur ligna et galee sue que erant in Galipoli, et licentiate fuerunt omnes sui armigeri de Galipoli quia parabat se ire contra exercitum Tamberlay.

(3) Item. naravit quod in Palatia armabantur ligna xij et in Theologo ligna viij pro eundo ad depredandum, quia multi Turchi querunt fugere [... quia] et volunt potius esse in mari quam ire cum exercitu Turchi contra Tamberlam.

3.

*Candia, 11 aprile 1402.*

<di>e xj aprilis 1402.

(1) Nova narrata regimini Crete per Costam Carchia, patronum cuiusdam navigii [habet] de Eno, quod hodie *in instanti hora* appli-



cuit portum Candide, et recessit de Eno die [iovis] vj 'presentis' in sero.

(2) Suprascriptus Costas narrat quod in illis diebus quibus 'volebat' recedere [...] 'de' Eno divulgabatur ibi et narabatur firmiter per nova ibi habita qualiter Bayasith bey, admiratus Turchorum, iam recesserat de Brussa et ibat versus Magnam Sevastiam per [duas] iter duarum dietarum cum non magno exercitu [quia], 'sed' cotidie adunabat suum exercitum [versus illum Bayasithum] ad se. Tamberlanus autem Tartarus cum magno exercitu [arripuit] 'subiugavit' Magnam Sevastiam [et ve] et transivit eam per duas dietas et venit versus dictum Bayasithum. Milçys autem Vlachus et Ungari et Tartari a partibus 'occidentalibus' Vlachie [vero occidentalibus] veniunt contra dictum Bayasithum et carpserunt transitus et itinera parcium Vlachie pro veniendo versus partes et loca Bayasith bey.

(3) Item. dicebatur quod in Palathia et in 'Theologo' [altologo] armabantur ligna xx inter magna et parva 'que sunt banchorum' a decemocto in xx [banchorum] pro quolibet, et ponebatur super ipsis pro capitaneo quidam qui vocatur Cressy, qui erat christianus de Chio et modo est [renegatus et] 'effectus' Turchus, sed quo debeant ire non dicebatur.

(4) Item. de Galipoli dicebatur quod non est amplius tantus exercitus ibi quantus solebat esse, et hoc 'quia' gens vadit cum Turcho in exercitu contra Taberlanum. tum dicebatur quod propter defensionem loci de Galipoli [non] ordinavit dictus Bayasithus quod armarentur galee usque novem [galearum] et aliqua alia ligna parva quibus volebat dare soldum pro mensibus tribus.

Missa Vineciis per unam manum cum x<sup>a</sup> cassio de xvij aprilis 1402.

# Translation and Commentary

## 1.

*Candia, 10 September 1401.*

(1) Ser Giacomo de Orado, a Genoese recently arrived from Romania, reported the following news to the government.

(2) He said that he sailed from Constantinople on August 24, and that on August 6 ambassadors of Emperor John (VII), the Venetians and the Genoese had left the city to see the mother of the Turkish prince in Brusa to negotiate peace. Representing the emperor were the archbishop of Gothia and the nobleman Melissenos; the Genoese were represented by Quilico dei Taddei, and the Venetians by their bailie. In Brusa these ambassadors were well received and treated by the lady and, so it is said, they obtained all that they asked for regarding a peace settlement. For the Comune of Pera was willing to give five thousand hyperpera a year to the Turk, not as tribute but as a gift; the emperor of Constantinople should continue paying his annual tribute and should receive back the maritime fortresses and territories he held before the war. After obtaining these peace terms, the ambassadors planned to leave Brusa on September 1 and to go to Bajezid, reported to be near Sivas, to confirm this peace with him.

De Orado's sailing from Constantinople to Crete in eighteen days or less seems unusually rapid for this period in which such a voyage generally required between 25 and 28 days.<sup>2</sup>

There seems to be no reason to doubt the truth of these reported,

2. See F. THIRIET, *La Romanie vénitienne au moyen âge*, Paris 1959, 188.

official peace negotiations with the Turks.<sup>3</sup> On 22 March 1401 the Venetian senate ordered its vice-bailie in Constantinople, Francesco Foscarini, to work out an agreement with Byzantium and the Genoese of Pera, whose cooperation they regarded as absolutely essential if peace were to be restored in the Levant. For peace was a necessary prerequisite to Venetian commerce, and the senate felt that involvement in a war to preserve Constantinople would accomplish nothing.<sup>4</sup> On the same day the senate also granted to Foscarini and to Nicola Capello, vice-captain of the galleys of Romania, powers to negotiate directly with the Turkish Emir Bajezid.<sup>5</sup> A month later the Captain of the Gulf was given certain instructions regarding the Turkish fleet at Gallipoli and ordered not to make any changes if the peace, now being discussed with the Turks, appears about to be concluded.<sup>6</sup> These discussions, perhaps of an informal nature, must have been preparatory to the official negotiations in August reported by de Orado.

The first member of the Byzantine delegation was the archbishop of Gothia (Gutie), John Holobolos. Prominent in Byzantine court and literary circles, archdeacon and grand chartophylax of Hagia Sophia, he was named to the see of Gothia in 1397-99 and died about the end of June 1403.<sup>7</sup> The other Byzantine envoy

3. See F. DÖLGER, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453*, 5: *Regesten von 1341-1453*, Munich 1965, no. 3176, p. 74; P. WIRTH, *Zum Geschichtsbild Kaiser Johannes VII. Palaiologos*, in "Byzantion", 35 (1965), 592-600; and most recently, J. BARKER, *Manuel II Palaeologus, 1391-1425. A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship*, New Brunswick New Jersey 1969, 212, who also discusses in some detail other negotiations with the Turks, 206-215.

4. IORGA, *Notes et extraits* in "Revue de l'Orient Latin" (ROL), 4 (1896), 237; F. THIRIET, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie*, 2 vol., Paris - La Haye 1958-59, II, no. 1007, p. 15.

5. IORGA, *Notes et extraits*, in "ROL", 4 (1896), 238; omitted in THIRIET, *Régestes*.

6. IORGA, *ibid.*, 241; this section has been omitted by Thiriet in his summary, *Régestes*, II, no. 1015, p. 18.

7. He signed a patriarchal document of 1396-97 as chartophylax: *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, ed. E. MIKLOSICH and J. MÜLLER, 6 vols., Vienna 1860-87, II, no. 518, p. 292 (hereafter referred to as Miklosich-Müller), and in a document of October 1399 is spoken of as archbishop of Gothia: MIKLOSICH-MÜLLER, II, no. 528, p. 304. He is mentioned in several other such documents and participated in

(quidam nobilis Molissinus) was most probably Andronikos Apokaukos Melissenos, a member of the senate (*synklētos*) from at least 1397 to 1409.<sup>8</sup> Quilico dei Taddei was prominent in the Commune of Pera, for example, on 27 May 1403 he gave testimony concerning certain transactions with Emperor John VII, and in 1411 he held the office of podestà of Pera.<sup>9</sup> On 27 February 1401 Francesco Foscarini was appointed vice-bailie of Constantinople for a term of two years, was given special instructions on March 22, and by April 23 seems to have taken up residence there; he also held the post of bailie there in 1414-16.<sup>10</sup>

On August 6, then, this embassy left Constantinople for Brusa to discuss peace terms with the mother of the prince (Zalapi, a common Western rendition of the Turkish *celebi*), probably the mother of Bajezid's son, Suleyman Çelebi, usually referred to in Western sources as Musulman Zalapi or some variation thereof.<sup>11</sup> Why diplomatic business of this sort, especially among the Turks, would be left in the care of a woman, is not at all clear, but Bajezid and his sons, if indeed they even knew of these negotiations, were busy elsewhere with more important concerns.

According to de Orado, the envoys actually succeeded in negotiating a peace treaty and, it would seem, a relatively favorable

meetings of the synod in July 1401: MIKLOSICH-MÜLLER, II, no. 660, p. 519; twice in the first half of 1402: G. DENNIS, *The Deposition and Restoration of Patriarch Matthew I, 1402-1403*, in "Byzantinische Forschungen", 2 (1967), 100-107; he presided over a synod between 9 and 14 June 1403: *ibid.*, 104, but in a synod held early in July of that year he is referred to as deceased: *ibid.*, 102, n. 9.

8. In October 1397 ... Apokaukos Melissenos (the first name is left blank) is mentioned as a senator: Miklosich-Müller, II, no. 686, p. 566; his full name is given as a witness to the treaty with Venice of 22 May 1406: MIKLOSICH-MÜLLER, III, no. 34, p. 153; about the same time a letter of John Chortasmenos was addressed to him omitting his first name, but referring to him as an archon and senator: H. HUNGER, *Johannes Chortasmenos, Briefe Gedichte und Kleine Schriften*, Vienna 1969, 207-208; finally, he appears without his middle name as a senator and domestic (*oikeios*) in a synodal tome of August 1409: *cod. Vat. gr.* 1858, fol. 33<sup>v</sup>.

9. IORGA, *Notes et extraits*, in "ROL", 4 (1896), 91; E. ROSSI, *Le lapidi genovesi delle mura di Galata*, in *Iscrizioni Genovesi in Crimea ed in Costantinopoli*, in "Atti della Società Ligure di storia patria", 56 (1928), 141-67, esp. 166.

10. THIRIET, *Régestes*, II, no. 1004, 1007, p. 15, no. 1015, p. 18, no. 1538, p. 125.

11. See BARKER, *op. cit.*, 212, n. 17.

one. In return for a financial contribution the Turks would lift the siege of Constantinople and Pera, and would even restore some Byzantine territory. Venice, according to the terms here recorded, made no promises either to give or to receive anything; that peace should prevail and commerce made safe was apparently enough. Obviously, whatever had been agreed upon at Brusa was meaningless until it should be confirmed by Bajezid. That the envoys realistically expected him to do so is difficult to believe. Perhaps they felt that his preoccupation with the Mongols in the East would make him willing to agree to a truce in the West. If so, they were seriously mistaken, for he continued the siege of Constantinople as relentlessly as before, and by the end of the year was back in Brusa preparing an assault on the city.<sup>12</sup>

According to de Orado, Bajezid was reported to be in Eastern Anatolia, near the city of Sivas (Sevastia), which had been taken by the Mongols the previous year.<sup>13</sup> This would seem to form part of that campaign which saw the Turkish army under Suleyman Çelebi defeated by Shah Rukh, the son of Timur in the summer of 1401, an event also reported by de Orado. According to the Castilian ambassador to Timur, Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, Bajezid had sent troops under Suleyman to the East promising that he himself would follow with reinforcements.<sup>14</sup> Whether the envoys to Bajezid set out for Eastern Anatolia on September 1 as planned or not, is not known, but it is clear that nothing came of these negotiations. By January of the following year peace had been forgotten, and Venice officially considered herself in a state of war with the Turks.<sup>15</sup>

12. Document 2 (2), *infra*; see BARKER, *op. cit.*, 212-15; during the first half of 1402 the siege was so intense that bishops were unable to enter the city for a synod: DENNIS, *art. cit.*, 102.

13. 26 August 1400: M. ALEXANDRESCU-DERSCA, *La Campagne de Timur en Anatolie (1402)*, Bucharest 1942, 43.

14. RUY GONZALEZ DE CLAVIJO, *Embajada a Tamorlán*, ed. F. LOPEZ DE ESTRADA, Madrid 1943, 91. The whereabouts of Bajezid at any given time are not always clear, but an attempt to determine some points has been made in the Chronological Notes concluding this article.

15. THIRIET, *Régestes*, II, no. 1035, p. 22.

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(3) He also reports that on August 19 an armed Genoese ship arrived at Pera from Trebizond with two ambassadors of Timur-bey on board, one of whom is called Brother Francis of the Order of Preachers, and the other was a Saracen. They were sent to the emperor of Romania and to the Commune of Pera to urge them to keep their agreement not to make a treaty with the Turkish ruler, for after the wheat harvest Timur-bey meant to march against Bajezid the Turk. In this way they clearly affirmed that without any doubt Timur-bey was to march against the Turk. After fulfilling their mission and receiving a reply, although this Giacomo did not know what the reply was, these ambassadors planned to leave Pera for Trebizond on a galley belonging to Bartolomeo Signola.

A fair amount has been written on the relations between Timur and the European powers, including Byzantium, so that there seems no need for detailed comment here.<sup>16</sup> While the objective of this particular embassy, which there is no reason to doubt, was to persuade the Byzantines and the Periotas not to make a treaty with the Turks, other matters may well have been discussed, such as tribute, the blocking of the straits against the Turks and even the raising of Timur's banner over Pera. The first envoy was Brother Francis, a Dominican, who had originally been sent to Timur from King Charles VI of France.<sup>17</sup> Of his colleague all we are told is that he was a Saracen, whatever that might mean. A subsequent letter of Timur to John VII gives him the name of Sandron, perhaps Sandro.<sup>18</sup>

16. See BARKER, *op. cit.*, 504-509, with references. ALEXANDRESCU-DERSCA, *op. cit.*, 52, is rather confusing on the whole matter.

17. See J. DELAVILLE LE ROULX, *La France en Orient au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2 vol., Paris 1886, I, 389.

18. «Frate Francesco, lo quale voi mandaste con Sandron.»: MARINO SANUDO, *Vite dei Duchi di Venezia*, ed. L. A. MURATORI, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, 22, 405-1252, 797C. For no particular reason, Alexandrescu-Dersca (*op. cit.*, 19) identifies Sathru and *Sarracenus*, but then she explains that the name Ssathru was given to Francis by John of Sultaniya in his Latin translation of the letter of Timur to King Charles VI, which is not found in the Persian original.

(4) He also reports that Timur-bey was to be found in the region near Sivas, three days' march away. Also, the son of Timur-bey met the son of Bajezid in battle and defeated him and his army of 25,000 Turks. The army of Timur-bey, it is said, consists of 70,000 soldiers, not counting those transporting siege machines.

Actually, at this time Timur was still in Syria, but his son, Shah Rukh, was campaigning in Armenia and Eastern Anatolia.<sup>19</sup> There, according to de Orado, he defeated a force of 25,000 Turks commanded by Suleyman Çelebi. It is possible that some confusion exists between the account of this battle and the one reported in March 1402 in which the son of Timur again defeated the son of Bajezid, who this time had 70,000 troops under his command.<sup>20</sup>

(5) He also reports the news he heard from Caffa that two small Venetian ships put in safely at Tana and a third at Trebizond. In Tana it was said that 300 curus of salt fish and spices were being expected.

(6) He also reports that Tokhtamish, emperor of the Tatars, has fled from Astrakhan to an unknown destination, and there was hope that peace prevails in all of Tataria.

Tokhtamish became ruler of the White Horde in what was called the Khanate of Kipchak, North of the Black and the Caspian Seas, in 1377-78 and united this with the Golden Horde in 1380. After a varied career, he was finally defeated in August 1399 by Timur Qutlugh, who replaced him as khan. Tokhtamish then wandered about in exile with a group of followers, fleeing from one place to another, as reported here, from Astrakhan (Citerchan) to someplace unknown; he was killed in 1406.<sup>21</sup>

19. ALEXANDRESCU-DERSCA, *op. cit.*, 48.

20. Document 2 (2).

21. R. GROUSSET, *L'Empire des Steppes*, Paris 1939, 483-86; 514-23; B. SPULER, *Die Goldene Horde, Die Mongolen in Russland, 1223-1502*, Wiesbaden 1965, 121-41.

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(7) He also reports an abundance of wheat in Caffa. There a modius of grain was worth 100 aspros, whereas in Romania a modius sold for 24 hyperpera.

The silver coin used in Tana and Trebizond was called an aspro (white); the hyperperon was the Byzantine gold coin which by 1401 was largely composed of silver. Although there was constant devaluation of the hyperperon, and the general rates of exchange fluctuated during this period, roughly about fifteen aspros were equal to one hyperperon.<sup>22</sup> In Constantinople in 1399-1400 it was reported that because of the Turkish siege of the city a modius of grain cost more than twenty hyperpera.<sup>23</sup> In October 1402, after the lifting of the siege, Gerardo Sagredo wrote that in Constantinople grain was worth seven or eight hyperpera a modius.<sup>24</sup>

(8) He also reports that there was no fleet at Gallipoli, but was told that some galleys from there had sailed towards Thessalonica.

Earlier in the summer the Captain of the Gulf had been seriously concerned about the Turkish fleet stationed at Gallipoli, and his report on the situation was discussed at length by the Venetian senate on August 10.<sup>25</sup> Perhaps by the time de Orado passed by Gallipoli, Bajezid, as mentioned in the report of Carchias (document 3), had already begun taking men from there to serve against the Mongols.

### 2.

*Candia, 3 March 1402.*

(1) Manuel Calogeniti of Ainos, who put in at Candia on the above date in a small ship of his from Ainos, has informed the

22. See THIRIET, *Régestes*, I, p. 225-28, with references.

23. DUCAS, *Istoria Turco-Bizantină*, ed. V. GRECU, Bucharest 1958, 14, 4, p. 85.

24. SANUDO, *Vite dei Duchi di Venezia*, 797C.

25. THIRIET, *Régestes*, II, no. 1023, p. 19.

government of the following. Last November he was in the region of Thessalonica and saw numbers of Turks returning from a plundering expedition in Hungarian territory. From them he learned that 60,000 Turks had entered Hungary to pillage. After despoiling innumerable people, they returned with their booty to the section of Walachia bordering on Turkish territory. There the captain of the army wanted to take the *pendameriam*, that is, one of every five captives according to their custom. While they were still in that area of Walachia, a large army from Hungary under a man called Mircea the Vlach came up and attacked the Turks with the result that some Turks were captured, some were killed and some drowned. Only about three thousand Turks escaped to make it safely back to Turkey.

Manuel Calogeniti of Ainos, obviously a Greek merchant, first told the authorities in Crete what he had heard in November 1401 in Thessalonica, still under Ottoman rule. Since the battle of Nicopolis in 1396 the Turks had regularly been raiding and pillaging through Walachian and Hungarian territory causing immense damage.<sup>26</sup> In May 1399 the voivoda of Walachia, Mircea (or John Mircea, ca. 1387-1418), was engaged in fortifying the city of Giurgiu on the Danube against Turkish attacks and warned the Hungarians of an imminent invasion.<sup>27</sup> The composition of the army from Hungary which defeated the Turks is not clear, nor is its exact connection with Mircea. There does not seem to be extant any other record of this particular engagement, which apparently took place in the fall of 1401 along the North bank of the Danube in Walachia. *Pendameria* (Greek, fifth share) refers to the right of the Sultan in Islamic law to claim for himself one fifth of the prisoners of war.

26. See N. IORGA, *Histoire des Roumains et de la Romanité orientale*, 5 vol., Bucharest 1937, III, 367; L. KUPELWIESER, *Die Kämpfe Ungarns mit den Osmanen bis zur Schlacht bei Mochacz, 1526*, Vienna 1899; G. BECKMANN, *Der Kampf Kaiser Sigismunds gegen die werdende Weltmacht der Osmanen, 1392-1437*, Gotha 1902.

27. On Mircea see IORGA, *Histoire des Roumains*, III, 317-404.

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(2) He also reported that on the first day of Lent of this year the news had arrived in Chios from Palaia Phokaia that the son of Tamerlane had subjugated Erzincan and Great Sivas and other places in that area which the Turk had taken. Afterwards, in the vicinity of Great Sivas a Turkish army about seventy thousand strong came to grips with the army of the son of Tamerlane who emerged victorious, and only about three thousand Turkish soldiers managed to escape and flee. But Bajezid, who was in Brusa and had been mustering his forces in preparation for an attack against Constantinople, on hearing of the defeat of his army, ordered his ships and vessels in Gallipoli to be disarmed, and all his soldiers there were released, for he was making ready to march against Tamerlane.

Calogeniti also relayed some news which had reached Chios the first day of Lent (8 February 1402) from Palaia Phokaia (Focharum Antiquarum, Foggia Vecchia, modern Foça) on the West coast of Asia Minor. Actually, Sivas had been captured by Timur himself on 26 August 1400.<sup>28</sup> Erzincan (Arçingay), on the other hand, seems to have been taken by the Mongols previously.<sup>29</sup> In March 1402 this would hardly be news. Possibly these reports or rumors stem from the campaigns of Shah Rukh, the son of Timur, in those regions in the summer and fall of 1401, perhaps even as late as January 1402. Timur himself did not leave Karabagh for Armenia and Eastern Anatolia until mid-February 1402, and it was not until after that that he occupied in force Erzurum, Erzincan and Sivas.<sup>30</sup>

Also according to this report, the son of Timur defeated a Turkish force of seventy thousand men so severely that only three thousand escaped. It is not clear whether this represents a confusion with the defeat of the fifteen thousand Turks reported by de

28. ALEXANDRESCU-DERSCA, *op. cit.*, 43; DUCAS (ed. GRECU), 15, 6, p. 91.

29. DUCAS, (ed. GRECU) 15, 6, p. 89. Erzincan was recaptured by Bajezid in the fall or winter of 1400-1401; ALEXANDRESCU-DERSCA, *op. cit.*, 47.

30. ALEXANDRESCU-DERSCA, *op. cit.*, 54-57.

Orado in summer 1401, or whether it was a distinct battle, probably later in the year.

Bajeziid had apparently wintered in Brusa preparing for an attack against Constantinople and, as noted above, the situation within the Byzantine capital was critical, and it was felt that the city was in imminent danger of capture. The emir, however, was forced to meet the threat from the East and began gathering his forces, even to the extent of reducing the garrison at Gallipoli.

(3) He also reported that twelve ships in Palatia and eight in Theologo were being readied to go plundering, since many Turks are trying to flee and prefer to go to sea rather than accompany the Turk's army against Tamerlane.

The two small emirates of Palatia (ancient Miletus, modern Balat) and Theologo (above ancient Ephesus, Italian Altoluogo, Turkish Ayasuluk, now Selçuk) seem to have maintained a semi-independent course of action despite their subjection to Bajeziid in 1390. In August 1400, for example, the son of Bajeziid ruling Theologo proposed a separate mutual aid pact with Venice.<sup>30a</sup> Their maritime location made them natural bases for naval expeditions and piracy against shipping in the Aegean, as is clear from this document and the following one.

3.

*Candia, 11 Aprile 1402*

(1) The following news was reported to the government of Crete by Costas Carchias, owner of a ship from Ainos, whence he sailed on the evening of April 6, and which arrived at the port of Candia this very hour.

30a THIRIET, *Régestes*, II, no. 988, p. 12.

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Costas Carchias, clearly another Greek merchant from Ainos, according to this report made the voyage from Ainos to Crete in only five days, a surprisingly short time. The words, *in instanti hora*, are underlined in the manuscript, although when and by whom is not known. The handwriting, the cancellation and addition of words, indeed give the impression of an interview hastily jotted down at the dockside.

(2) This Costas reports that in the days when he was preparing to sail from Ainos the news, said to be solidly based, was spread about there that Bajeziid-bey, emir of the Turks, had already left Brusa and was two days on the march towards Great Sivas. His army was not large, but each day he added new forces to it. Tamerlane the Tatar, however, with a large army had subjugated Great Sivas and was two days march toward Bajeziid. But Mircea the Vlach, together with Hungarians and Tatars from the Western part of Walachia are marching against Bajeziid and have taken the passages and roads of Walachia to advance against the territories of Bajeziid-bey.

The information here relayed by Carchias would have circulated in Ainos about the end of March and the beginning of April. According to our other sources, it would have been just about this time that Bajeziid began his march to the East which would end on the field of Ankara on July 28.<sup>31</sup> On 16 February 1402 Timur left his winter quarters at Karabagh, advanced through Armenia and occupied Sivas, where he held a great review of his troops, before marching towards Ankara and Bajeziid. This review seems to have taken place between March 6 and 16; then Timur must have begun his Western advance about the middle or later part of March, so that reports of it would reach Ainos around the end of the month.<sup>32</sup>

31. DUCAS (ed. GRECU), 16, 1, p. 91-93; see ALEXANDRESCU-DERSCA, *op. cit.*, 57-59.

32. The source cited by ALEXANDRESCU-DERSCA, *op. cit.*, 57, places this review in the first ten days of the month without naming the month. She then opts for the

The Turkish ruler is referred to as bey, lord, and as emir (*admiratus*, a common Western form of emir or amir). Actually, Bajezid had been using the higher and more sacred title of sultan for some time, which he had had granted to him by the Abbasid Caliph of Cairo in 1394.

Apparently the voivoda Mircea took advantage of Bajezid's preoccupation with Timur by joining with some Hungarian forces and Tatars from Western Walachia to harass the Turks. These Tatars, or some of them, may have been those from Kipchak whom Bajezid had called to his aid, and who might well have been more interested in plundering the Turks than in helping them combat the hordes of Timur.<sup>33</sup> At any rate, Mircea and his allies gained control of the roads and presumably of the Danube passages on the Southern borders of Walachia. The extant sources, however, furnish no further information about this.

(3) He also said that in Palatia and Theologo twenty ships of various sizes, of eighteen to twenty benches each, were being armed and were placed under the command of a certain person called Cressy, a former Christian from Chios who has now become a Turk, but their destination was not reported.

The lack of enthusiasm of many Turks, especially those on the coast of Asia Minor, for campaigning against the Mongols has already been noted. The renegade Christian named Cressy is not known from other sources.

(4) It was also reported that the number of troops in Gallipoli is not as great as it has usually been, because the men are marching

first of Ramadan 804 Heg. (= 4 April 1402), claiming that this harmonizes better with the data furnished by Carchias. In fact, it does not, for Timur would then have been two days on the march Westward on April 6 at the very earliest, the same day on which Carchias sailed from Ainos, clearly an impossibility. Moreover, Carchias states that he heard his news before April 6, while he was preparing to sail. The great review of troops, therefore, and the beginning of Timur's Western advance must have occurred during the first ten days of the month of Shaban, that is, March 6-16.

<sup>33</sup> ALEXANDRESCU-DERSCA, *op. cit.*, 59-60.

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with the army of the Turk against Tamerlane. Then he heard that for the defense of Gallipoli Bajezid had ordered that they arm some nine galleys and some smaller vessels for which he intended furnishing pay for three months.

### Chronological Notes, 1400-1402

The following series of notes represents an attempt to determine and to collect together certain chronological points resulting from a study of the above documents or in some way connected with their contents. It is not intended to be complete or definitive, for exact dates are difficult to establish, and one has the feeling that the same events, such as the several Mongol victories over the Turks or the Armenian campaigns of Bajezid, may have been recorded more than once and regarded as two distinct incidents. References to the three Cretan reports given above are noted as Document 1, 2, 3, and the paragraph number of this edition. Owing to the inaccessibility of some of the sources employed by Alexandrescu-Dersca in her book on Timur's Anatolian Campaign, a thorough verification of some of her statements has not been possible, and this work, with its often confused chronology, should be used with caution. While the three Cretan documents are good, contemporary sources, and so preferable to chronicles compiled several decades later, one must remember that rumor, as well as fact, was often reported.

### 1400

*Winter.* Bajezid winters in Brusa. Ducas pictures the sultan enjoying himself in Brusa at the time when John VII assumed the governorship of Constantinople, that is, December 1399 through the first few months of 1400.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> DUCAS (ed. GRECU), 12, 2, p. 87.

*March-April.* Bajezid prepares to invade the Morea. Concern about these preparations and the safety of Venetian settlements was expressed in the senate on May 18.<sup>35</sup>

*Spring-summer.* Bajezid campaigns in Greece, apparently for the most part in Thessaly and Boeotia.<sup>36</sup>

*Mid-summer.* The forces of Timur capture Erzincan and advance towards Sivas.<sup>37</sup>

The Mongol generals, Suleyman Shah and Djihan Shah, defeat some Turkish forces near Kayseri and return to Timur's camp near Sivas loaded with booty.<sup>38</sup> Suleyman Çelebi, the son of Bajezid, seems to have left Sivas in search of reinforcements. He is supposed to have commanded the Turks defeated near Kayseri according to Alexandrescu-Dersca, who bases her position on Document 2, 2. But this report comes from news which arrived in Chios during the first week of February 1402, and which almost certainly did not refer to a battle which took place a year and a half earlier.

*August.* Bajezid is in Livadia in Boeotia preparing to invade the Morea.<sup>39</sup>

*August 26.* Sivas is captured by the Mongols.<sup>40</sup>

*August-September.* Bajezid begins his invasion of the Morea, but on hearing of the capture of Sivas, he turned back, probably to Brusa, and began preparations to combat the Mongols.<sup>41</sup> In a letter from Modon of 2 January 1401, Aloisio da Canal cites a letter written on 4 October 1400 in Constantinople which states that the Turkish emir was advancing against the Morea with fifty thousand troops. "Dize chome el Turcho in persona iera chavalcado con persone 50<sup>m</sup> per vegnir in la Morea." <sup>42</sup> The news that

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Bajezid had turned his attention to the Mongols and was gathering his forces was received in Venice on October 12.<sup>43</sup>

Still, a large number of Turks, ten thousand according to one report, did invade the Morea. Da Canal, for example, in the letter of 2 January 1401, just cited, speaks of two assaults against Nafplion which were repulsed by the inhabitants. "Da novo dize chome Turchi ierano intradi in la Morea da 10<sup>m</sup> he che ierano venuti bona parte de lor a Napoli per do volte, he che quei da Napoli con i fanti ierano denttro de li, ... e fo a le man con i ditti Turchi, ... ne fo morti da 1500 di soi e di nostri da 100 e prexi prexoni asai."

On 7 January 1401 the senate authorized the repair of the fortress of Nafplion, which was in very poor condition.<sup>44</sup> During this period the senate also evidenced considerable concern about the damage incurred by their citizens, especially in Coron and Modon.<sup>45</sup>

Another letter of Da Canal from Modon, 12 October 1400, reported that "The Turk" (a term usually reserved for the sultan) was invading Albania in force. "Da novo de quy se dize el Turcho vien in Nalbania con gran exercito, e questo se sa de fermo." Actually, this must refer, not to Bajezid, but to the Turkish army in Albania commanded by Lala Shahin, with whom the Venetians sought to negotiate on July 6.<sup>46</sup>

*October.* Timur invades Syria; on October 30 he captures Aleppo.<sup>47</sup>

*Fall-Winter.* Bajezid leads his army across Anatolia, passes by Sivas and takes Erzincan by assault.<sup>48</sup> From the available sources it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the duration of Bajezid's

35. THIRIET, *Régestes*, II, no. 983, p. 11.

36. LAONICI CHALCOCANDYLAE, *Historiarum demonstrationes*, ed. E. DARKÓ, 2 vol., Budapest 1922-27, I, 3, p. 136.

37. DUCAS (ed. GRECU), 15, 6, p. 89.

38. ALEXANDRESCU-DERSCA, *op. cit.*, 43.

39. CHALCOCANDYLES, *loc. cit.*

40. ALEXANDRESCU-DERSCA, *op. cit.*, 43.

41. CHALCOCANDYLES, *loc. cit.*; DUCAS (ed. GRECU), 15, 6, p. 91.

42. VENICE, *Archivio di Stato, Miscellanea Gregolin*, B. 6.

43. THIRIET, *Régestes*, II, no. 994, p. 13.

44. C. N. SATHAS, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge*, II, Paris 1881, no. 231, p. 13; not found in THIRIET, *Régestes*.

45. E. G., THIRIET, *Régestes*, II, no. 1006, p. 15; see D. ZAKYTHINOS, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, I, Paris 1932, 156-161.

46. IORGA, *Notes et extraits*, in "ROL", 4 (1896), 232, omitted in THIRIET, *Régestes*.

47. ALEXANDRESCU-DERSCA, *op. cit.*, 46.

48. ALEXANDRESCU-DERSCA, *op. cit.*, 46-74; DUCAS (ed. GRECU), 15, 5, p. 89.



zid's Armenian campaign. Perhaps it extended through the winter of 1400-1401.

About December the rumor reached Modon that Bajezid was dead, but it does not seem to have been believed. The letter of Da Canal cited above states: "se dize per alcuni signali el Turcho eser morto. non el chredo."

### 1401

*Winter.* Bajezid concludes his Armenian campaign(?). He returns to Brusa and then goes to Adrianople.<sup>49</sup>

*Spring.* Venice cooperates with Byzantium and Genoa in attempting to negotiate a peace settlement with the Turks (Document 1, 2, commentary).

*Summer.* (before August 24) Shah Rukh, the son of Timur, campaigns in the vicinity of Sivas and defeats a Turkish army of 25,000 men under Suleyman Çelebi.<sup>50</sup>

*August.* Envoys of the Byzantine Emperor, of Pera and of Venice discuss peace terms with the mother of Suleyman Çelebi in Brusa. (Document 1, 2)

*August 19.* Envoys to the Byzantine Emperor and to Pera arrive from Timur. (Document 1, 3)

*August.* Bajezid is reported to be in the region about Sivas. (Document 1, 2)

*Fall.* The voivoda Mircea defeats a large force of Turks returning from a pillaging expedition in Hungary. (Document 2, 1)

*November 29.* Timur establishes winter quarters in Karabagh.<sup>51</sup>

*Fall-Winter.* The Mongols, probably commanded by Shah Rukh, capture Erzincan and occupy Sivas. (Document 3, 2)

Near Sivas a large Turkish army (70,000) is decisively defeated by Shah Rukh. (Document 3, 2)

49. DUCAS, *loc. cit.*

50. Document 1, 4; see ALEXANDRESCU-DERSCA, *op. cit.*, 48.

51. ALEXANDRESCU-DERSCA, *op. cit.*, 50.

### THREE REPORTS FROM CRETE ON THE SITUATION IN ROMANIA, 1401-1402

Bajezid returns to Brusa and prepares to attack Constantinople. On hearing of the defeat of his army near Sivas, he begins to plan a campaign against Timur. (Document 3, 2)

### 1402

*Winter.* Bajezid gathers his forces in preparation for his campaign against the Mongols.

*February.* Timur leaves his winter quarters in Karabagh (February 16), advances into Armenia and captures or occupies Erzurum, Erzincan and other places.<sup>52</sup> Whether we have to do with an assault upon these cities or an occupation in force is not clear.

*March.* Timur captures Kemakh and occupies Sivas.<sup>53</sup>

*March 6-16.* Timur reviews his troops outside Sivas and begins his march towards Ankara. Bajezid and his army leave Brusa and march towards Ankara. (Document 3, 2, commentary)

Mircea, together with Hungarian and Tatar allies, take the passages along the Walachian-Turkish frontiers. (Document 3, 2)

*July 28.* Battle of Ankara.

52. Document 3, 2; ALEXANDRESCU-DERSCA, *op. cit.*, 54.

53. ALEXANDRESCU-DERSCA, *op. cit.*, 56-57.

PROBLEMI STORICI CONCERNENTI I RAPPORTI TRA  
VENEZIA, I SUOI DOMINI DIRETTI E LE SIGNORIE  
FEUDALI NELLE ISOLE GRECHE

Fra le grandi città del medioevo Venezia era unica, perché costruita sopra un gruppo di isole e perché non possedeva nessun territorio sulla terraferma. Questa situazione, come si sa bene, cambiò radicalmente nel 1204 quando Venezia acquisì i diritti di possesso su un vasto territorio nel Levante. Quali che fossero le vere intenzioni della Signoria nella conquista di Costantinopoli, una questione che qui non possiamo discutere, sembra che la repubblica non avesse in realtà preveduto acquisizioni di territorio, almeno di tanto territorio<sup>1</sup>. Certo le terre assegnatele rimanevano sulla carta della *Partitio imperii Romaniae*, salvo la sua capacità di occuparle de facto. In questa relazione tratteremo di tali terre e di loro rapporti col governo centrale<sup>2</sup>. Il punto geografico della no-

<sup>1</sup> Vedi F. THIRIET, *La Romania Vénitienne au moyen age*, Paris 1959, 74.

<sup>2</sup> Fondamentale per il presente studio è il lavoro del Thiriet citato sopra (in seguito abbreviato: THIRIET, *Rom. Vén.*), e in genere si rimanda il lettore alla sua bibliografia e al suo elenco delle fonti. Pure utilissimi per il nostro argomento sono: B. DUDAN, *Il dominio veneziano di Levante*, Bologna 1938; K. HOPF, *Geschichte der Insel Andros und ihrer Beherrscher, 1206-1566*, *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos-hist. Classe*, 16 (Vienna 1855); *Urkunden und Zusätze zur Geschichte der Insel Andros*, *ibid.*, 21 (1856); *Schicksale vom Karystos auf Euboea, 1205-1470*, *ibid.*, II (1853); S. ROMANIN, *Storia documentata*

stra attenzione è il Mare Egeo, mentre quello cronologico è il secolo decimo quarto. Eppure non si tratterà di Creta, chiave dell'Egeo, perché quest'isola merita una relazione a parte.

Di fronte alla prospettiva di occupare le nuove terre nell'Oriente, i veneziani si trovarono all'inizio indecisi nella maniera di procedere. L'ambizione territoriale non giocò mai un ruolo nella politica veneziana, e i marinai e mercanti delle lagune non guardavano con entusiasmo l'idea di espandersi troppo sulla terraferma<sup>1</sup>. L'interesse principale di Venezia era il mantenere la sua libertà economica e di proteggere la sicurezza del suo commercio. Era anche chiaro che Venezia nel 1204 non possedeva i mezzi per conquistare e occupare le terre assegnatele nella *Partitio*. Così Venezia, potenza marittima, concentrò i suoi sforzi sul possesso dei porti e delle isole più importanti della Grecia. I realisti veneziani capivano che era più prudente limitarsi ad un'occupazione solida delle stazioni navali, indispensabili alla sicurezza delle loro navi. L'occupazione di molti territori, particolarmente nelle isole, superava i mezzi della repubblica, e così si lasciò tale compito a

di Venezia, 10 vol., Venezia 1912-20; K. SETTON, *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311-1388*, Cambridge, Mass. 1948; *The Latins in Greece and the Aegean*, in *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, 1, 2a ed., Cambridge 1966, 389-430; W. MILLER, *The Latins in the Levant, A History of Frankish Greece*, Londra 1908. Per altre opere si consulteranno le note seguenti. Un buon resoconto delle fonti si trova nel THIRIET, *Rom. Vén.*, 9-19. Molto utile anche è il suo *Régestes des Délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, 2 vol., Paris-La Haye 1958-59, qui citato come THIRIET, *Régestes*, e il numero dei regesti. Tanto, e giustamente, si sono criticati gli scritti di K. Hopf che non ci sembra necessario discuterli qui. Però sia permesso di augurare la pubblicazione di ulteriori ricerche come quelle di R. J. Loenertz, e.g., *Marino Dandolo, seigneur d'Andros*, in «*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*», 25 (1959), 165-81; *Généalogie des Ghisi, dynastes vénitiens dans l'Archipel*, 1207-1390, *ibid.*, 28 (1962), 121-172; 322-35; *Les Querini, comtes d'Astypalée*, 1413-1537, *ibid.*, 30 (1964) 385-97; 32 (1966) 372-93. Tale augurio dovrà essere realizzato colla pubblicazione di uno studio dettagliato sui Ghisi, opera dello stesso Padre Loenertz.

<sup>1</sup> Nel 1381 quando Venezia cedette Treviso e Ceneda all'Austria il cancelliere della repubblica, Raffaino Caresini scrisse: «*Ducalis excellentia prudentissima meditatione considerans proprium Venetiarum esse mare colere, terramque postergare: hinc enim divitijs et honoribus abundat, inde saepe sibi proveniunt scandala et errores*». RAPHAÏNI DE CARESINIS, *Chronica AA.* 1343-1388, ed. E. PASTORELLO, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, 12, 2, Bologna 1923, 58.

cittadini privati veneziani, i cui rapporti col governo centrale verranno esaminati da noi.

Per lo più i veneziani che parteciparono nell'amministrazione dell'impero latino di Costantinopoli, insieme con quelli che si stabilirono nelle isole dell'Egeo, erano abitanti da molti anni, se non originarii, della Romania. Essi credevano che il loro avvenire si trovasse nell'Oriente; perciò subito dopo la conquista si comprende il loro entusiasmo. Però in tale atteggiamento si celava un vero separatismo. Si pensava a uno stato veneziano autonomo nella Romania, attaccato al Comune con legami più o meno tenui. Già nel 1205 il podestà di Costantinopoli, Marino Zeno, si intitolò, «*Podestas et despotis imperii Romanie eiusdem imperii quarte partis et dimidie dominator*».<sup>1</sup> Ma la politica saggia della patria era in grado di avvertire questa vera minaccia all'unità veneziana, e verso la fine del secondo decennio del Duecento la questione di una seconda Venezia fu praticamente liquidata.<sup>2</sup>

La situazione dell'Oriente venne stabilizzata mediante un compromesso. Certi territori furono sottomessi direttamente a Venezia, in particolare porti strategici quali Modone e Corone, e la grande e turbolenta isola di Creta. Altri territori invece, quali le signorie feudali dell'Egeo, divennero principati indipendenti, che riconoscendo la sovranità dell'imperatore latino di Costantinopoli, furono in molti punti posti sotto controllo veneziano, un controllo che si rivelò sempre più rigido. Inoltre, come vedremo, si trovarono delle variazioni fra queste due categorie. Poi bisogna dire qualcosa sugli altri organi d'influsso veneziano nel Levante, quali le colonie commerciali e la chiesa latina. Ovviamente nei limiti di questa relazione non possiamo esaminare in modo esauriente tutti i punti, ma bisogna contentarci di accenni a problemi ed esempi illustrativi.

<sup>1</sup> THIRIET, *Rom. Vén.*, 79.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 88. Nel 1256 il Doge salutò il podestà veneziano in Costantinopoli così: «*Jacopo Delphino, de suo (i.e. Ducis Venetiarum) mandato Potestas in Constantinopoli, et de se Potestas imperii Romanie ejusdemque Imperii quarte partis et dimidie, vice sui dominatori*». G. TAFEL-G. THOMAS, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, 3 vol., Vienna 1856-57, III, 23 (in seguito citato come Tafel-Thomas).

La questione dei rapporti tra Venezia e i suoi domini diretti presenta allo storico, sotto un certo aspetto, pochi problemi, perché si tratta di rapporti di dipendenza strettissima<sup>1</sup>. Parecchi di questi territori furono occupati da truppe mandate direttamente dalla metropoli o almeno comandate da ufficiali provenienti da essa; e questo certamente contribuì ad attenuare la tendenza al separatismo. Per esempio, nel 1206 la repubblica occupò Modone e Corone dove si stabilirono due castellani « per nome della Ducal Signoria di Venezia »<sup>2</sup>. Il principio a cui s'ispirava la politica levantina veneziana non era complicato; esso riguardava unicamente il vantaggio commerciale della repubblica. Questo principio si trova enunciato nei documenti veneziani con una franchezza sorprendente. Quasi mai si parla con accenti imperialistici, dell'espansione territoriale in sé considerata, della gloria veneziana. Non vi si parla, come fanno spesso, per esempio, le potenze coloniali del secolo scorso, della missione di portare la civiltà e il cristianesimo ai nuovi sudditi. Per la prosperità del proprio commercio Venezia non aveva bisogno di essere ben voluta dagli autoctoni; era soltanto necessario organizzare una forte ed efficiente amministrazione, strettamente sottoposta al comune; e questo sarebbe il segreto della longevità del dominio levantino di Venezia.

Di questa amministrazione coloniale, che di fatti ha avuto gran successo, non possiamo presentare più di uno schizzo<sup>3</sup>. In genere, la differenza fra il governo dei possedimenti diretti e quello delle colonie commerciali nei paesi non-veneziani era minima. Eccetto il fatto della residenza stabile in territorio straniero e del regolamento dei suoi poteri mediante trattati internazionali, le famose « tregue », l'amministrazione interna e la dipendenza dal governo centrale del bailo veneziano di Costantinopoli non si differenziarono molto da quelle di un rettore di un dominio diretto. Bisogna però aggiungere che il bailo di Costantinopoli

<sup>1</sup> THIRIET, *Rom. Vén.*, 181 ss.

<sup>2</sup> MARINO SANUDO, *Vite de' Duchi di Venezia*, ed. L. A. Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, 22, Milano 1730, 536b.

<sup>3</sup> Vedi THIRIET, *Rom. Vén.*, 181-256.

spesso aveva anche l'incarico di rappresentare la repubblica presso l'imperatore bizantino ed in altre attività diplomatiche. Sembra pure che questo posto nella capitale bizantina si considerasse come più onorifico<sup>1</sup>. Ma, tutto compreso, il bailo di Costantinopoli godeva degli stessi poteri del bailo di Negroponte o del castellano di Modone. L'organizzazione coloniale era fondata su una stretta e rigida centralizzazione amministrativa. Ciascuna parte dell'impero veneziano, dalla più grande alla più piccola, era sottomessa al controllo esatto e alla costante sorveglianza della metropoli e doveva osservare un regolamento più o meno uniforme. E chiaro che vi furono delle variazioni secondo la grandezza e l'importanza dei diversi possedimenti. Poi, il regime veneziano riconosceva condizioni particolari e privilegi locali, come per esempio a Corfù.

I domini diretti erano intitolati *regimina*, sia che si trattasse della grande isola di Creta, sia che si trattasse di una sola fortezza. Dalla metà del secolo XIV all'incirca, a Creta viene attribuita anche il titolo di « Regno di Candia »; spesso si applicava lo stesso termine di « regno » a Negroponte. Il capo del regime di Creta ossia di Candia portava il titolo di Duca, mentre gli altri si chiamavano bailo, rettore, podestà, console, o castellano. L'amministrazione degli stabilimenti veneziani, anche i più minuscoli, aveva per modello quella di Venezia stessa. Il governatore, quale che fosse il suo titolo, era assistito, precisamente come il Doge stesso, da un consiglio locale che variava secondo il numero di veneziani ivi presenti. Insieme col consiglio c'erano dei consiglieri, dappertutto almeno due, ed altri ufficiali, i cui doveri e le cui responsabilità erano minuziosamente regolati. Come nella madrepatria il governo si basava sulla collegialità, così era molto poco quello che un amministratore coloniale potesse fare senza consultazione e approvazione. Ciascun governatore era eletto dal Maggior Consiglio di Venezia, e il Senato gli consegnava le sue istruzioni o *commissio*; poi il nuovo eletto faceva il suo giuramento « ad proficuum et honorem comunis Venetiarum ».

<sup>1</sup> Ordinariamente nei documenti egli porta il titolo: « baiulus Constantinopolis ac totius imperii Romanie », ma sembra che questo non indicasse una qualche autorità sopra gli altri bails.

Finalmente il fatto che la durata dell'incarico dei governatori era ordinariamente di due anni, contribuiva a far seguire più facilmente le istruzioni della repubblica. Data la distanza dalla metropoli, si lasciava una autonomia relativa alle colonie riguardo agli affari interni e ai rapporti colle potenze confinanti; però tutto era soggetto all'approvazione del governo centrale, e i capi coloniali sapevano bene i limiti dei loro poteri e non osavano oltrepassarli. Basta sfogliare i volumi dei *Misti* o i regesti del Thiriet per vedere quanto fossero dettagliate le regole veneziane, che trattano del prezzo del vino, del miele, del cotone, della costruzione delle mura, degli stipendi degli ufficiali, dell'acquisto di libri liturgici, eccetera.

La sorveglianza della metropoli diventava più rigorosa mediante l'istituzione degli inquisitori, conosciuti col nome di provveditori (*provisores*) o sindaci<sup>1</sup>. Tale istituzione esisteva da parecchio tempo ma solo verso la metà del secolo XIV la troviamo regolata in modo più preciso. Verso la fine dello stesso secolo i provveditori furono designati ad intervalli determinati, ordinariamente ogni cinque anni. Salvo una missione urgente, i sindaci dovevano esaminare gli affari locali, giudicare certi casi e cercare di migliorare l'amministrazione della colonia. La prova che furono veramente efficienti ed efficaci l'abbiamo nel numero degli ufficiali coloniali giudicati e puniti dalla repubblica.

Per quanto tocca alla difesa militare i regimi locali potevano richiedere delle navi o delle armi, ma ogni decisione di mandarle ed usarle partiva da Venezia. Come negli altri settori, la difesa del vasto impero orientale fu estremamente centralizzata. Il governo determinava i mezzi militari da usare e consegnava le sue istruzioni al Capitano del Golfo. Sotto la sua vigilanza si trovavano tutti i possedimenti veneziani dell'Oriente, e tutti erano obbligati a seguire i suoi ordini.

Più complicata ancora era, nel Levante, la condizione dei signori feudali. Di questi vi erano diverse classi, che praticamente si possono ridurre a tre. Primo, vi erano i cittadini veneziani che

erano feudatari o vassalli del comune stesso. Essi erano numerosi in Creta ed anche nella Grecia e nelle isole. Per esempio, nel 1207-1208 le famiglie veneziane Venier e Viaro si stabilirono nelle isole di Cerigo e Cerigotto col titolo di marchese e come vassalli di Venezia<sup>1</sup>. Durante il secolo XIV questo fenomeno diventava più ordinario nelle isole dell'Egeo, e per il comune come per i feudatari sembrava più soddisfacente, anche se dava occasione a dei conflitti col Duca dell'Arcipelago. Qualche volta la repubblica trovò tale accomodamento meno costoso che quello di ritenere un certo territorio come dominio strettamente diretto. Nel 1385 costava troppo mantenere Phteleon e così fu concesso a vita ad Antonio Darduino; nello stesso anno fu comandato al regime di Negroponte di vendere Carystos al maggior offerente<sup>2</sup>. In realtà, però, i rapporti fra tali signori e Venezia differivano poco dai rapporti coi governatori dei domini diretti. Ordinariamente i vassalli tenevano un feudo a vita e potevano trasmetterlo ai loro eredi, sempre, si capisce, coll'approvazione di Venezia. Godevano anche di una certa autonomia per trattare gli affari interni, e sembra che spesso seguissero più il sistema e diritto feudale che quello comunale.

Indubbiamente, più importante fu l'evoluzione del dominio veneziano nell'isola centrale di Eubea ossia Negroponte; tale sviluppo non è stato fatto ancora oggetto di uno studio a fondo. Oreos nel nord e Carystos nel sud furono tutte e due assegnate alla repubblica nella *Partitio* del 1204. Però essendo le sue forze molto impegnate in Creta, il comune non era in grado di prenderne possesso. La Signoria sarebbe stata contenta di lasciare ad altri la fatica di togliere quel territorio ai bizantini. Di fatti, il re di Salonicco, Bonifacio di Monferrato, occupò l'isola intera nella primavera del 1205, e nell'agosto la diede in feudo a tre Veronesi del suo seguito, Ravano dalle Carceri, Pecoraro Pecorari de Mercanuovo, e Gilberto da Verona. La città di Negroponte (l'antica Chalcide) divenne possedimento comune dei tre, i quali erano intitolati i signori terziari, *dominatores tertie partis*, oppure i

<sup>1</sup> Vedi THIRIET, *Rom. Vén.*, 198 ss.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 87, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> THIRIET, *Régestes*, 691, 700.

Lombardi. Nel maggio del 1209 Ravano, l'unico superstite dei primi terziieri, era stato costretto a rendere omaggio per il suo feudo all'imperatore Enrico di Hainaut. Però nel marzo dello stesso anno il di lui fratello e procuratore, Redondello dalle Carceri, a nome di Ravano fu investito del feudo di Negroponte dal Doge di Venezia, e promise fedeltà alla Signoria.<sup>1</sup> Promise anche una chiesa e un fondaco nella città di Negroponte sottoposti alla giurisdizione del Doge, e da questo era nata la colonia veneziana di Negroponte che sarebbe cresciuta incessantemente fino a comprendere l'isola intera.

L'autorità veneziana si faceva sentire sempre più. Dal 1216 circa il bailo veneziano della città di Negroponte, comincia a decidere nel nome di Venezia questioni come quelle di successione. Di fatti il bailo in questo anno si intitolò, « in tota insula Nigropontis baiulus ». Da parte loro, i terziieri promisero di governare le loro terre per l'onore e nell'interesse del Comune, di mandare una certa somma a Venezia ogni anno, di assicurare la libertà di affari dei mercanti veneziani, e di fare giurare ai loro sudditi ubbidienza al Doge e al Comune. Inoltre dovevano usare i pesi e le misure di Venezia e dovevano far cantare le acclamazioni in onore del Doge nella chiesa principale ogni Natale, Pasqua, e festa di San Marco<sup>2</sup>. Più significativa forse fu la provvisione secondo cui i loro successori erano tenuti alle medesime obbligazioni.

La sovranità sopra Negroponte fu nel 1240-44 concessa dall'imperatore latino al Principe d'Acaia, Guglielmo de Villehardouin, e la Signoria insieme coi terziieri dovevano riconoscerla<sup>3</sup>. Eppure l'imperatore bizantino, Michele VIII Paleologo, non considerò i possedimenti dei terziieri come domini diretti di Venezia, perché nel trattato discusso, ma non firmato, del 1265 egli esplicitamente esclude il Ducato dell'Arcipelago e le terre dei

<sup>1</sup> Circa i Terzieri si veda L. DE MAS-LATRIE, *Les seigneurs Terciers de Négrepont*, in « Revue de l'Orient Latin », 1 (1893), 413-32. Il giuramento di Ravano dalle Carceri si trova in TAFEL-THOMAS, II, 89-93.

<sup>2</sup> TAFEL-THOMAS, II, 175-79.

<sup>3</sup> MAS-LATRIE, *op. cit.*, 418. Il trattato col Principe d'Acaia, del 15-16 maggio 1262, si trova in TAFEL-THOMAS, III, 46-55.

terzieri come non facenti parte dei possedimenti del Comune<sup>1</sup>. E in maniera più concreta mostrò tale distinzione nel fare attaccare quelle terre da Licario, suo condottiero latino, nel 1271-76. Alcuni dei nobili dell'isola, in conseguenza delle loro obbligazioni feudali come vassalli d'Acaia, combatterono e morirono col Duca d'Atene, Gualtiero di Brienne, nella battaglia del Cefisso, combattuta nel 1311 contro i Catalani<sup>2</sup>. Di fatti c'era la minaccia dei Catalani, che forniva a Venezia l'occasione di rivendicare la sua autorità sopra i terziieri. Questi vedevano che la loro difesa si sarebbe attuata non tanto con l'aiuto dei principi latini quanto con l'aiuto di Venezia, e Venezia era prontissima a concederlo.

Circa cent'anni dopo il riconoscimento della sovranità di Acaia sopra Negroponte, cioè nel 1360, il governo veneziano dovette ammonire il bailo di Negroponte a moderarsi e di rispettare i diritti dei terziieri<sup>3</sup>. Ma, a questo tempo, restavano soltanto le vestigia della loro autonomia anteriore, e in pratica essi erano considerati come semplici feudatari di Venezia sotto il regime di Negroponte, il cui capo era il bailo veneziano. Nel 1383 e 1390 si ebbero gli ultimi passi che condussero alla piena annessione<sup>4</sup>.

Assai complicati sono i rapporti tra Venezia e le signorie feudali dell'Egeo, particolarmente col Ducato dell'Arcipelago; e in queste pagine non possiamo dare un resoconto completo della loro storia, ma dobbiamo limitarci agli esempi più rappresentativi<sup>5</sup>.

Subito dopo la conquista del 1204 ci fu la possibilità vera di uno stato autonomo veneziano nell'Oriente. Durante la visita a Venezia di due giudici del Comune provenienti da Costantinopoli, Pietro Michiel e Marco Sanudo, sembra che il Doge, Pietro Ziani, si sia messo più o meno d'accordo. Una parte della Romania sarebbe stata occupata e sottomessa direttamente alla repubblica;

<sup>1</sup> TAFEL-THOMAS, III, 66-89.

<sup>2</sup> Cfr. SETTON, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, 11-12.

<sup>3</sup> THIRIET, *Régestes*, 354, 373.

<sup>4</sup> THIRIET, *Rom. Vén.*, 360.

<sup>5</sup> Non esiste ancora una storia dettagliata del Ducato dell'Arcipelago. Ci si può riferire ai due capitoli del MILLER, *The Latins in the Levant*, 570-649, ma la sua documentazione viene dall'Hopf e perciò è necessaria la prudenza.

l'altra parte invece sarebbe stata lasciata ai veneziani d'Oriente, desiderosi di far conquiste<sup>1</sup>. Col consenso dell'imperatore Enrico di Hainaut, Venezia invitò i suoi cittadini a prendere con i loro mezzi propri i territori che avevano fatto parte dell'impero bizantino e che furono inclusi nel patto di partizione. I nuovi signori, dunque, sarebbero stati vassalli dell'imperatore latino di Costantinopoli, tuttavia le loro terre non si sarebbero potute cedere a nessuno, se non ad altri veneziani<sup>2</sup>. Per la repubblica, che in quel tempo non ebbe i mezzi a tali conquiste, vi fu almeno qualche assicurazione che quei territori rimanessero nelle mani dei suoi figli.

La conquista delle isole dell'Egeo procedette assai rapidamente in una serie di spedizioni, probabilmente non molto coordinate. Il capo, « in una certa maniera », e il meglio conosciuto fu Marco Sanudo, nipote del vecchio Doge Enrico Dandolo. Egli stabilì la sua capitale nell'isola di Nasso e si attribuì il titolo di Duca dell'Arcipelago, una corruzione del greco, Aigaion pelagos, che si incontra nei documenti veneziani come Egeopelagus. Parecchi, ma non tutti, degli altri nuovi signori gli fecero l'omaggio feudale, mentre egli riconobbe l'imperatore latino di Costantinopoli come suo signore.

Così si assisteva all'erezione di principati sotto il dominio di veneziani, indipendenti dal Comune. Questi signori conquistarono un territorio e lo ressero a nome loro e non nel nome di Venezia, e dovevano l'omaggio feudale non alla loro patria ma all'imperatore di Costantinopoli, e dopo il 1240-44 al Principe d'Acaia. Per qualche tempo sembrava che non vi fosse più che un legame morale tra questi signori veneziani del Levante e la madrepatria. Però, nonostante i poteri, i titoli, o gli obblighi feudali, agli occhi del Comune essi rimanevano dei semplici cittadini veneziani, e specialmente dopo il fallimento dell'impero latino, questo fatto sarebbe divenuto di importanza capitale.

<sup>1</sup> Cfr. J. FOTHERINGHAM, *Marco Sanudo the Conqueror of the Archipelago*, Oxford 1915.

<sup>2</sup> Questo è chiaramente detto nel primo atto di Marino Zeno, Podestà in Costantinopoli, il 29 giugno 1205: TAFEL-THOMAS, I, 246-78.

Quando divenne più chiara la debolezza dell'impero latino, i veneziani di Costantinopoli e delle isole sentirono di più il loro attaccamento alla madrepatria, la quale poteva almeno proteggerli<sup>1</sup>. Verso il 1220 i problemi più seri stavano per essere risolti. Colla perdita di Costantinopoli nel 1261, Venezia si era decisa a trovare un *modus vivendi* con Bisanzio e allo stesso tempo ad affermare la sua autorità sopra i terzi di Negroponte e i signori feudali dell'Egeo.

Nel 1243 quando Geremia Ghisi strappò Andros al suo conquistatore Marino Dandolo, il Maggior Consiglio di Venezia decise contro di lui e gli ordinò di consegnare l'isola al bailo veneziano di Negroponte<sup>2</sup>. La repubblica cercò anche di decidere fra i Ghisi ed i Sanudi nel loro conflitto a proposito di Amorgos, ma il caso si prolungò fino al 1358<sup>3</sup>. Nel 1277 dietro richiesta del Doge furono inclusi nel trattato (tregua) con Bisanzio Marco Sanudo, Duca dell'Arcipelago, e Bartolomeo Ghisi, Signore di Tinos e Mykonos, insieme colle loro isole e i loro vassalli<sup>4</sup>. Nel 1339 la Signoria credette che si dovesse includere nel trattato con Bisanzio, che allora si discuteva, il Marchese di Bodonitza, Niccolò Giorgio (Zorzi), « fedele e cittadino nostro »<sup>5</sup>. Nel secolo XIV specialmente, i signori feudali erano ordinariamente rappresentati dalla metropoli negli affari diplomatici<sup>6</sup>. Alcuni di loro mostrarono qualche iniziativa nel trattare coi loro vicini, ma con l'andar del tempo la loro indipendenza a tal riguardo diminuì.

<sup>1</sup> THIRIET, *Rom. Vén.*, 74-88.

<sup>2</sup> LOENERTZ, *Marino Dandolo*, 172.

<sup>3</sup> THIRIET, *Rom. Vén.*, 163, n. 3. Nel suo libro sui Ghisi, di prossima pubblicazione, il Loenertz investiga in maniera esauriente la lunga storia del conflitto concernente l'isola di Amorgos.

<sup>4</sup> TAFEL-THOMAS, III, 138-39. Si nota che il Ghisi si trova nel documento non come vassallo del Sanudo, ma come suo uguale. Questi signori sono anche iscritti nel trattato del 15 giugno 1285 (*ibid.*, 326), ma non in quello del 1303: *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, ed. G. THOMAS, I, Venezia 1880, 16-19.

<sup>5</sup> A. RUBIÓ I LLUCH, *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català*, Barcelona 1947, n. 174, pp. 226-27.

<sup>6</sup> Si ricorda il Duca di Nasso nel trattato coi Turchi del 1403: G. DENNIS, *The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403*, in « *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* », 33 (1967), 78. Pure la repubblica rappresentò la famiglia Corner nel loro conflitto concernente Karpathos coi Cavalieri di Rodi nel 1306-1315: THIRIET, *Rom. Vén.*, 163.

In campo militare si nota lo stesso sviluppo. All'inizio sono indipendenti nel fare la guerra contro i bizantini, gli altri latini, o fra di loro stessi, ma nel corso del tempo divennero sempre più una parte delle forze armate veneziane. Dovevano fornire navi e uomini alle campagne navali del Comune e far parte delle diverse leghe contro i Turchi, per esempio in quella dei 1332-34<sup>1</sup>. Ma nel corso del secolo XIV, colle incursioni dei pirati, dei Genovesi e dei Turchi, le signorie feudali sentivano maggiormente il vantaggio e la necessità dell'aiuto della patria. Il Capitano del Golfo aveva il comando militare dei domini diretti, perciò dovette vigilare anche alla difesa delle isole dell'Egeo. Sotto questo aspetto l'Arcipelago e le altre signorie furono sottoposte al comando militare veneziano, ed era la repubblica che forniva le armi e le navi necessarie<sup>2</sup>. Dovevano pure aderire alla strategia e alla politica del Comune<sup>3</sup>. Nei tempi delle razzie nemiche Venezia divenne arbitra della stessa loro esistenza fornendo con le sue navi il grano proveniente da Creta. In genere, la crescente debolezza militare delle signorie feudali le rendeva sempre più dipendenti dal Comune, e per conseguenza l'autorità di Venezia cresceva continuamente.

Certo vi erano pure nel secolo XIV delle occasioni nelle quali i signori feudali esercitavano la loro indipendenza d'azione. Vi fu la famosa « guerra dell'asino », nella quale i Ghisi assediaron il castello di Guglielmo Sanudo, Signore di Syros, ma il bailo veneziano di Negroponte ricondusse la pace<sup>4</sup>. Nel 1332 Niccolò Sanudo, Duca dell'Arcipelago, concluse una tregua coi Turchi, nonostante il divieto espresso dal regime di Negroponte<sup>5</sup>. Tre

<sup>1</sup> THIRIET, *Régestes*, 15, 20, 22, 23, 25, 36, 37. Vedi P. LEMERLE, *L'Émirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident*, Parigi 1957, 89-101; S. THEOTOKIS, 'Η πρώτη συμμαχία τῶν κυριάρχων κρατῶν τοῦ Αἰγαίου κατὰ τῆς καθόδου τῶν Τούρκων ἀρχομένου τοῦ ΙΔ' αἰῶνος, in 'Επετηρίς 'Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 7 (1930), 283-98.

<sup>2</sup> Per esempio, cfr. THIRIET, *Régestes*, 135, 515, 562, 786, 810, 813, e in genere THIRIET, *Rom. Vén.*, 243-55.

<sup>3</sup> THIRIET, *Régestes*, 802.

<sup>4</sup> MARINO SANUDO, *Istoria del Regno di Romania*, ed. K. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, Berlin 1873, 113-14.

<sup>5</sup> THIRIET, *Régestes*, II.

anni più tardi il Senato dovette dare ordine allo stesso Duca di liberare Jacopo Barozzi, Signore di Santorin, il quale era stato imprigionato da lui<sup>1</sup>.

Forse l'esempio più impressionante dell'autorità sempre crescente di Venezia è quello riguardante il matrimonio di Fiorenza Sanudo, erede del Ducato<sup>2</sup>. La questione del suo futuro sposo non era una cosa indifferente alla repubblica, e così questa fece dei passi energici nel 1361 per assicurarsi che lo sposo non fosse né il Genovese Pietro Recanelli, capitano di Smirne, né il Fiorentino Nerio Acciajuoli. Esiste tutta una serie di lettere ufficiali su questo argomento, le quali manifestano l'interesse del Senato e la sua ferma determinazione di impedire tali unioni. Ciò fu veramente necessario, si dice nei documenti, per la sicurezza veneziana. Il bailo di Negroponte dovette usare tutti i mezzi possibili, dalla persuasione alla forza. Al Duca Giovanni Sanudo la Signoria scrisse che era incredibile che egli potesse anche pensare di lasciare che sua figlia si maritasse con un nemico della repubblica, dal momento che vi erano tanti uomini nobili in Venezia, Creta e Negroponte, disposti ad offrire la propria mano a una donna tanto ragguardevole. Scrisse la Signoria in questo senso al Duca, alla Duchessa Maria e a Fiorenza stessa; e aggiunse che, nel caso che essi non fossero d'accordo colla repubblica in questo affare, si sarebbero trovati certamente altri mezzi per impedire il matrimonio<sup>3</sup>. Il 27 dicembre 1362 gli ufficiali veneziani ammonirono Fiorenza a maritarsi con un nobile o di Creta o di Venezia<sup>4</sup>. La regina di Napoli, Giovanna I, e il Principe d'Acaia, Roberto di Taranto, avevano nel 1363 fatto sapere a Venezia che Fiorenza era loro vassalla — ed era vero — e che la repubblica non doveva immischiarsi in quell'affare. Nella sua risposta Venezia dichiarò che questo matrimonio era di grande interesse per la repubblica. In questa risposta si vede chiaramente la sua politica verso i signori

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>2</sup> I documenti si trovano editi in E. GERLAND, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Erzbistums Patras*, Leipzig 1903, 138-49.

<sup>3</sup> Cfr. la lettera del senato al bailo di Negroponte del 25 ottobre 1361 in GERLAND, 138-40.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.



feudali veneziani dell'Egeo. Prima di essere una vassalla, si scrive, Fiorenza è cittadina nostra, e per la sua nascita, suddita nostra. I suoi progenitori appartengono ad una delle nostre famiglie nobili e col nostro favore e aiuto s'impadronirono delle isole dell'Arcipelago. Inoltre per la difesa di quelle isole noi abbiamo speso i nostri sforzi ed il nostro sangue, e nelle tregue con Bisanzio facciamo menzione espressa di coloro che sono sotto la nostra protezione<sup>1</sup>.

Per assicurarsi della buona volontà di Fiorenza, essa fu condotta in viaggio a Creta, e là fu combinato il suo matrimonio con Niccolò Sanudo, chiamato Spezzabanda<sup>2</sup>. Due decenni più tardi in seguito all'assassinio del Duca Niccolò II dalle Carceri, il Senato decise di permettere a Franco Crispo, Signore di Milos, di succedere al Ducato, dopo aver indagato le sue disposizioni verso la repubblica<sup>3</sup>. Di nuovo nel 1418 Venezia fece sapere che il successore del Duca Giacomo Crispo doveva essere suo fratello Giovanni invece dell'altro fratello, che aveva sposato una Genovese<sup>4</sup>.

Le signorie feudali dell'Egeo cominciarono insomma come principati indipendenti, però a poco a poco, specialmente nel Trecento, si svilupparono come protettorati veneziani. Nonostante i loro titoli signorili e i loro legami feudali, furono dei cittadini veneziani e come tali soggetti alla repubblica<sup>5</sup>. Con qual-

<sup>1</sup> «... prius tamen quam vassala vestra fuerit, ipsa fuit civis nostra et ratione originis nobis naturali iure subdita et commissa. nam progenitores sui ab antiquo fuerunt de nobilibus stirpibus terre nostre et cum favore ac auxilio nostro acquisiverunt et tenuerunt loca et insulas Egeopelagi, quas ipsa domina possidet in presenti; pro quibus insulis defendendis et conservandis communitas nostra persepe cum multa sanguinis effusione gravibusque periculis laboravit. item etiam in treuguis, quas cum imperio Constantinopolis hactenus habuimus et presentialiter nunc habemus, ipsa loca sub nostra protectione specialiter nominamus.» GERLAND, 143-44.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 145-47. Pure nel 1376 e 1383 il senato ripeté che le donne nobili dell'Egeo non potevano maritarsi senza l'approvazione di Venezia: THIRIET, *Régestes*, 573, 642.

<sup>3</sup> THIRIET, *Régestes*, 643.

<sup>4</sup> Cfr. *ibid.*, 1715, 1718, 1720.

<sup>5</sup> Per esempio, nel conflitto fra il Duca dell'Arcipelago e Niccolò Querini il Doge «città Miser Marco Sanudo come Citadin Venezian a risponder». SANUDO, *Istoria del Regno di Romania*, in HOFF, *Chroniques*, 112.

che eccezione, essi collaboravano col Comune, lo aiutavano in guerra e, in cambio, erano aiutati da esso. Alcuni di tali signori prestarono un servizio fedele alla repubblica, come Pietro Zeno, Signore di Andros (1384-1427), nelle negoziazioni diplomatiche<sup>1</sup>. Lo stato delle signorie dell'Egeo si può forse riassumere colle parole scritte da Nicola de Martoni in occasione della sua visita a Nasso nel 1395, L'isola di Nasso appartiene, egli dice, «Al Duca dell'Arcipelago, che domina in molte isole, e molti signori di queste isole sono soggetti a questo Duca, e tutti sono sotto la signoria di Venezia»<sup>2</sup>.

Nei primi anni di tensione fra il governo centrale e quello di Costantinopoli, la chiesa latina giocava un ruolo assai importante nella preservazione dell'unità veneziana, cioè nel riconoscimento della supremazia del Comune. Come è ben noto, nel 1204 Venezia si assicurò il controllo della chiesa nell'impero latino. E la chiesa la serviva bene. In genere, il clero veneziano era più attaccato alla metropoli che non fossero i nobili già da tempo residenti nell'Oriente. Per la maggior parte il clero venne da Venezia stessa e non si interessava tanto a stabilirsi nel Levante, come lo desideravano i nobili bramosi di potere e di fondare una propria dinastia. Il primo titolare del patriarcato latino di Costantinopoli fu il veneziano Tommaso Morosini, il quale fu più legato alla repubblica che all'imperatore latino. È importante notare che Venezia fu uno stato laico, nella quale gli ecclesiastici furono sudditi come gli altri; non presero una parte speciale nel governo, ma furono ben trattati e perciò essi si dimostrarono molto leali alla repubblica. Quelli che si trasferirono nel Levante mantennero la stessa lealtà, che fu un fattore importante nell'impedire la tendenza all'autonomia. Il patriarca Morosini, per esempio, esclude le chiese veneziane già esistenti in Costantinopoli dalla sua giurisdizione, così che la chiesa metropolitana di Venezia (più esatta-

<sup>1</sup> Cfr. DENNIS, *Byzantine-Turkish Treaty*, cit.

<sup>2</sup> «... ducis Archipelagi qui dominatur in multis insulis, et multi domini ipsarum insularum sunt subditi dicto duci, et omnes sunt sub dominio Venetiarum». L. LE GRAND, *Relation du pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas de Martoni notaire italien* (1394-1395), in «Revue de l'Orient Latin», 3 (1895), 645.

mente, il vescovo di Castello) aveva un'autorità abbastanza grande sul clero veneziano per tutto l'Oriente latino<sup>1</sup>. Per l'appoggio dato alla chiesa in Romania la repubblica meritava il favore di Roma. La prosperità coloniale di Venezia fu considerata come prosperità della chiesa Romana; e un'identificazione simile fu vantaggiosa per Venezia. Di fatti questa fu una delle ragioni principali per la semplice tolleranza della chiesa greca nei possedimenti veneziani e l'esclusione dei vescovi greci dalle loro diocesi. Si ha l'impressione che la precedenza accordata alla chiesa latina non fosse tanto un affare di fede quanto una cosa politica, cioè un mezzo per ritenere il favore del Papa. È anche interessante notare che Marco Sanudo, il primo Duca dell'Arcipelago, lasciò in funzione l'arcivescovo greco di Nasso. Finalmente, i vescovi e il clero d'Oriente dovettero mostrarsi riconoscenti per la protezione di Venezia e mostrarsi docili collaboratori della repubblica.

Negli altri stati latini dell'Oriente il clero veneziano si trovava in gran numero. Per citare un solo esempio, si ricorda l'arcivescovato latino di Patrasso, che fu anche uno stato feudale del Principato d'Acaia. In quel porto c'erano non soltanto parecchi mercanti veneziani, ma anche un buon numero di ecclesiastici veneziani, specialmente nella curia vescovile. Nel 1365 la Signoria cercò di far nominare arcivescovo il nobile veneziano Paolo Foscari<sup>2</sup>. Dieci anni più tardi il Foscari fu effettivamente nominato a quella diocesi, e fatta eccezione degli ultimi anni del suo ministero, egli si rivelò sostenitore fedele della sua patria<sup>3</sup>. In compenso del suo influsso e del suo servizio a favore di Venezia, la repubblica gli concesse delle armi e navi per aiutarlo contro i Turchi ed altri nemici, per esempio, negli anni 1381, 1382, 1384<sup>4</sup>.

Da questa nostra relazione, la quale è piuttosto un riassunto o sommario di certi aspetti del Levante veneziano, risultano le seguenti conclusioni. La politica coloniale della Serenissima era

quella di una rigida centralizzazione. Per quanto riguarda i domini diretti, si vede molto chiaramente tale centralizzazione in tutti i loro rapporti colla Signoria. Riguardo alle signorie feudali dell'Egeo, Venezia cercava incessantemente di sottometterle al suo controllo, e in una maniera o nell'altra essa riuscì ad imporre la sua autorità.

<sup>1</sup> Cfr. THIRIET, *Rom. Vén.*, 81.

<sup>2</sup> THIRIET, *Régestes*, 429.

<sup>3</sup> Cfr. GERLAND, *op. cit.* e G. DENNIS, *The Correspondence of Rodolfo de Sanctis, Canon of Patras*, 1386, in « *Traditio* », 17 (1961), 285-321.

<sup>4</sup> Venezia, Archivio di Stato, *Senato, Misti* 37, fol. 25<sup>v</sup>; fol. 66<sup>v</sup>; 38, fol. 107.

## WHAT HAPPENED TO ARCHBISHOP SIRELLO'S MONEY?

The Latin church which established itself in former Byzantine lands after 1204 was a colonial church. It provided some services for West European soldiers and merchants, and it exploited the local populations for the benefit of the prelates at home. We know little about its history and, apart from some names, even less about the men who staffed it.<sup>1</sup> What motivated them to endure long sea voyages and to risk being enslaved by pirates or Turks? Some became saints; some found ecclesiastical preferment and riches; some were cruelly murdered. In general, they seem to have been a tough breed, for life in *Oltremare* could be full of rude surprises. Most of our information about the Latin church in the Levant comes from the papal archives, for the Roman Curia was concerned with the smooth functioning of its Eastern dioceses, especially with the collecting of revenue. One such series of letters in the Vatican Archives (*Reg. Vat. 241* and *246*, edited below, and hereafter cited as *Letter 1* to *5*) affords us a vivid glimpse into the life of that church.

Early in 1357 Sirello di Pietro, archbishop of Thebes, capital of the Catalan Duchy of Athens, fell ill and died.<sup>2</sup> Nothing is known about him except that he was a native of Ancona and had been a canon of Patras before Pope Clement VI named him to Thebes on 20 May 1351. He also left behind at his death an unspecified, but apparently large, amount of money and other goods, and it is with these that the archival documents and this article are concerned. At the death of a bishop, his property and income were supposed to revert to the Holy See until a successor was named. When the officials of Pope Innocent VI learned of this legacy and that it was in the possession of the dean of the

1. For notable exceptions, see G. Dennis, "The Correspondence of Rodolfo de Sanctis, Canon of Patras, 1386," *Traditio*, 17 (1961), 285-321; G. Fedalto, *Simone Atumano, Monaco di Studio, arcivescovo latino di Tebe, secolo xiv*, Storia del Cristianesimo, 2 (Brescia: Paideia, 1968); *The Life of St. Peter Thomas by Philippe de Mèzières*, ed. J. Smet (Roma: Institutio Carmelitanum, 1954).

2. Information about Sirello and other ecclesiastics mentioned in this article may be found in the following: R. J. Loenertz, "Athènes et Néopatras, II, Regestes et documents pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des duchés Catalans (1311-1395)," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 28 (1958), 5-91; reprinted in *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca*, 2 (= *Storia e Letteratura*, 145; Rome, 1978), 305-93; G. Fedalto, *La Chiesa latina in Oriente*, Studi religiosi, 3, 3 vols. (Verona: Mazziana 1973-78).

church of Thebes, Miguel Oller, and some of his friends, they took steps to obtain it for the Holy See. On 5 January 1360 they ordered Nicholas de Reynaldo, archbishop of Athens, Thomas, a Franciscan, archbishop of Naxos and Paros, and the bishop of Andravida to investigate and to sequester the money and other goods for the Apostolic See.<sup>3</sup> The three prelates could act in unison or individually, but it seems that only Thomas of Naxos actually did anything to carry out the papal command. They were not to falter before any obstacle or give in to any dignitary, but were to employ ecclesiastical censure and, if necessary, invoke the aid of the secular arm. No matter what, the full amount was to be found and sent to the apostolic treasury (*camera*) in Avignon.

Miguel Oller, a Catalan, perhaps a native of Majorca, held a canon's stall in both Thebes and Neopatra and had been cathedral dean in Thebes since at least 5 December 1354, for on that date King Peter IV of Aragon wrote to ask his help in obtaining the head of St. George.<sup>4</sup> On 17 March of the following year the king commended his agent Francisco Colomer to Oller.<sup>5</sup>

The Roman Curia had been interested in Oller chiefly because he was holding on to the property of the late archbishop Sirello, but it very quickly found out more about him. On 20 January 1360 the officials of Innocent VI wrote to Paul, the new archbishop of Thebes, as well as to the archbishops of Athens and Naxos-Paros.<sup>6</sup> Oller, who had been referred to on 5 January as the Apostolic See's "beloved son," was now, fifteen days later, termed "son of iniquity and pupil of perdition, who acts as though he were dean of the Theban church." What had he done? "He had committed deliberate homicide in one of the public squares; he had had someone hung on a gallows, and another bound in chains after having used torture to extort a goodly sum of money from him. His unbridled amusements, moreover, and his other unspeakable crimes have for a long time brought shame to the clergy and been an awful scandal to the people of that region."

3. *Letter 1*. Nicholas was archbishop of Athens from 19 June 1357 to before 6 June 1365; Thomas archbishop of Naxos and Paros from 30 June 1357 to before 1377. The name of the bishop of Andravida, a suffragan of Patras, at this time is not clear; a Franciscan, John de Tolono, was appointed in 1342, and in 1390 a Dominican, Thomas de Renda: Fedalto, *La Chiesa latina*, II, 37-39. In *Letter 4* he is referred to as "episcopo Andromensi," which may mean the bishop of Andros, from 1349 to 1376 an Augustinian Hermit named Nicholas: *ibid.* A decade earlier, on 29 December 1350 Nicholas Canali, archbishop of Patras, had been murdered and his goods and money stolen; some of it turned up in the possession of the archbishop of Thebes, but the details are not clear: Fedalto, *La Chiesa latina*, I, 294.

4. A. Rubió i Lluch, *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català (1301-1409)* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1947; hereafter cited as *Dipl. Or. Cat.*), 217, p. 295; K. M. Setton, "Saint George's Head," *Speculum*, 48 (1973), 1-12.

5. *Dipl. Or. Cat.*, 219, p. 196.

6. *Letter 2*. Paul, who had been bishop of Smyrna, was appointed to Thebes on 15 May 1357, and on 17 April 1366 transferred to the Latin patriarchate of Constantinople: Fedalto, *Simone Atumano*, pp. 79-90.

The three archbishops, together or singly, were to go to Thebes or wherever else might be necessary and investigate the charges. If Miguel and his friends were guilty, they should see that they were punished, refraining, however, from using torture. Miguel, "who is said to bear the name only of Christian and of the clergy only the habit," should be given an opportunity to do penance and in that way serve as an example to others.

So seriously did the Curia consider this matter that it sent another letter on the very same day to the three prelates (*Letter 3*), adding more adjectives (*damnable* perdition, *enormous* crimes) and urging them to the greatest diligence in carrying out their mandate.

For almost four years nothing further is heard about the matter, but things were not quiet in Thebes. In late June 1361, the Duke of Athens, King Frederick III of Sicily, appointed the Theban, Peter de Pou, as vicar general for the Catalan Duchy.<sup>7</sup> Within a year he proved himself to be an absolute tyrant, forcefully seizing large sums of money, three castles, several houses, pigs, silver, and a Greek slave.<sup>8</sup> The king had to dismiss him from office sometime early in 1362, but Peter did not seem to have been willing to depart gracefully. In the spring of 1362 (May?) an assembly was convened in Thebes to discuss these and related problems with the marshal of the Catalan Company, Roger de Lluria, and his supporters. The debate grew heated, weapons were drawn, and Roger and his men massacred Peter de Pou, his wife Angelina, several officials, two canons, including the dean, Miguel Oller, and others.<sup>9</sup>

On 26 August 1362 King Peter of Aragon decreed that the property of Miguel Oller, who had recently died intestate and without heirs in Thebes, should be given to his next of kin, Gerald de Palol, an official of the royal court.<sup>10</sup> In addition to other property, he was reported to have between five and six thousand gold *regales* of Majorca in the custody of Bonanat Nicolau, a merchant on that island. Whether some of this may have once belonged to archbishop Sirello is not certain.

Meanwhile, archbishop Thomas of Naxos had been dutifully, if slowly, tracking down archbishop Sirello's money which, everyone knew, had been

7. See K. M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311-1388* (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1948; revised reprint, London, 1975), pp. 55-56; R. J. Loenertz, "Athènes et Néopatra, I, Regestes et notices pour servir à l'histoire des duchés Catalans (1311-1394)," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 25 (1955), 100-212 (reprinted in *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca*, 2); p. 113 (p. 199); K. M. Setton, "The Catalans in Greece 1311-1380," in *A History of the Crusades*, vol. III: *The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. K. M. Setton and H. W. Hazard, 4 vols. (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1969-77), 166-244, esp. 200-01; repeated in K. M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, I: *The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: 1976), 456-57.

8. Loenertz, "Athènes et Néopatra, I," 115-16 (pp. 201-02).

9. *Ibid.*, 116 (202). On 18 May 1367 King Frederick granted a pardon to Roger de Lluria and his accomplices for the murders: *Dipl. Or. Cat.*, 290, p. 378.

10. *Dipl. Or. Cat.*, 252, p. 335.

appropriated by Oller. But Thomas ran into an unexpected obstacle and had to write to the Curia for further instructions. The reply of Pope Urban V, dated 3 November 1363, describes the situation.<sup>11</sup> As the archbishop was endeavoring to obtain possession of Oller's property in the name of the pope, he was prevented by Grifon of Arezzo, a canon of Coron. This Grifon claimed to be the vicar general of Peter Thomas, a Carmelite friar, currently archbishop of Crete (6 March 1363 to 5 July 1364), but who had been bishop of Coron at that time (10 May 1359 to 17 February 1363), as well as papal legate in the East, and who would ultimately be canonized as a saint. According to Grifon, Oller's movable goods were specially reserved by papal commission to the legate Peter Thomas alone, and anyone else, including the archbishops of Athens, Naxos, and Thebes, would be subject to excommunication if they interfered. The archbishop of Naxos thought it best to stop and consult with the pope before taking any further action. By sheer coincidence, however, Peter Thomas was at the papal court in Avignon at that time and made it very clear to the pope that he had not ordered Oller's goods to be reserved in any way and had given no special authorization to Grifon in the case. Archbishop Thomas should, therefore, ignore Grifon or anyone else trying to forestall him, resorting, if need be, to excommunication and the secular arm. He was to search out and locate all the goods of the late dean, so that the money and other goods of archbishop Sirello could be restored in full to the Apostolic See.

What had prompted the canon to become engaged in this bit of chicanery? Grifon, who had a degree in both civil and canon law, *iuris utriusque peritus*, may have been embittered by his previous misadventures in ecclesiastical service. On or before 4 October 1356, while canon and treasurer of the diocese of Olena in the Morea, he appeared before the Venetian government officials as the representative of the bishop of Modon.<sup>12</sup> First, he had some personal complaints. He had been sent to Modon to deal with those who were not paying the papal tithes. There the castellano, Giovanni Quirino, threw him in prison together with criminals condemned to be hung, and tried to force him to eat documents bearing the seal of the bishop of Modon, papal collector in that region. The bishop himself was thrown from his horse, seriously wounded, and left for dead, while some of the canons accompanying him were beaten. More important, the castellano, not satisfied with inflicting such terrible injuries, had seized the property and revenues of the diocese. The Venetian senate promised to rectify the situation and make amends.

Archbishop Thomas of Naxos soon encountered other, more serious, obsta-

11. *Letter 4*. Also see Setton, "The Catalans in Greece," in *A History of the Crusades*, III, 200-01. There is another copy of this document in a *Formularium* of Pope Urban VI in the Vatican Library: *cod. Vat. lat. 6330*, fol. 140-41.

12. Deliberation of the Venetian Senate of 4 October 1346, ed. by Fedalto, *La Chiesa latina*, III, 171, p. 75.

cles in his efforts to confiscate the goods of Miguel Oller. These are described in a letter of Urban V to the archbishop of Thebes, dated 21 December 1363 (*Letter 5*). Thomas's search led him to Negroponte. There, two priests of the household of archbishop Nicholas of Athens, apparently acting on his orders, violently assaulted Thomas, threw him to the ground, and forced him to leave. If these charges are true, the pope notes, then the two priests, "sons of iniquity," Manfredo Pagamini and Lemno de Luca, have already incurred excommunication.<sup>13</sup> At any rate, the archbishop of Thebes was to conduct a full investigation and see that the guilty ones, including archbishop Nicholas, were punished as they deserve.

Since the spring of 1362, however, when Roger de Lluria usurped power as vicar, the situation in Thebes had greatly deteriorated. The Turkish mercenaries who accompanied him were terrorizing the city and the surrounding countryside. The citizens of Thebes led by their archbishop, Paul, sought help from King Frederick III of Sicily, who on 16 August 1363, appointed Matthew de Moncada as vicar general for the duchy.<sup>14</sup> From the decree of appointment it is clear that archbishop Paul was in Syracuse in mid-August 1363. In January and February 1364 he was in Naples on his way to Avignon.<sup>15</sup> On arriving at the papal court he must certainly have informed the pope of the problems caused by de Lluria's Turkish friends. He must also have told him that de Lluria had seized large amounts of property and goods belonging to the church. Quite possibly this included some of the goods which Oller had sequestered from Sirello, and which had still not found their way into the papal treasury. Urban V wrote to Roger and his brother John on 27 June 1364 severely reprimanding them for their companionship with the Turks and for their retaining the goods belonging to the church of Thebes.<sup>16</sup> He demanded that, instead of associating with Turks, the two brothers should take up arms against them, and they should make full restitution of the goods they were unlawfully keeping to the archbishop of Thebes. Otherwise the apostolic authority might have to resort to some other remedy.

Did the Roman Curia ever locate and obtain possession of the money and other goods of the late archbishop Sirello? Thomas of Naxos seems to have ceased looking; one beating in the papal service must have been enough, and we hear no more of him. Archbishop Nicholas of Athens died not very long after the events recorded above, before June 1365. On 17 April 1366 the pope transferred Paul from the see of Thebes to the titular one of Constantinople.

13. Loenertz, citing *Reg. Vat.* 262, f. 31<sup>v</sup>, also dated 21 December 1363, gives their names as Geoffroy of Negroponte and Lonnigo of Lucca: "Athènes et Néopatras II," 61 (p. 365).

14. *Dipl. Or. Cat.*, 253, p. 336.

15. Loenertz, "Athènes et Néopatras, II," 62 (p. 336).

16. *Dipl. Or. Cat.*, 256, p. 339.

In Thebes itself Roger de Lluria remained in power until his death in late 1368 or early 1369, and we may be reasonably certain that he did not surrender any money, whatever its provenance, to a papal emissary. As far as the documents go, it seems that the pope never managed to put his hands on the property of Sirello which he had long claimed. And we are not sure in whose coffers the money finally rested.

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## PAPAL LETTERS IN THE ARCHIVIO SEGRETO VATICANO.

### LETTER 1.

*Pope Innocent VI, 5 January 1360.*

*Reg. Vat. 241, fol. 1-2.*

Venerabilibus fratribus Atheniensi et Pariensi archiepiscopis ac episcopo Andreuillensi, salutem, etc.

f. 1<sup>v</sup>

Nuper ad Apostolice Sedis noticiam est perductum quod, quamvis bone memorie Sirelli archiepiscopi Thebanensis bona, debita, et credita quecumque, qualia, et quanta essent ac per quemcumque possiderentur, detinerentur seu occuparentur ubilibet constituta, necnon fructus, census, redditus, et proventus qui sede / Thebana, uacante per eiusdem Sirelli obitum, obuenirent et obuenire etiam potuissent diu ante infirmitatem ultimam qua decessit et dispositionem quamlibet earundem fuerunt auctoritate apostolica reseruata decernendo irritum et inane si secus a quoque quavis auctoritate scienter uel ignoranter contingeret attemptare, nichilominus tamen, ut fertur, dilectus filius Michael Olerius, decanus ecclesie Thebanensis et nonnulli alii cum complicibus eorundem huiusmodi bona, debita, credita, fructus, census, redditus, et proventus indebite occuparunt et detinent occupata, in camere apostolice permaximum preiudicium et iacturam eorumque uerendum periculum maximum.

Nos igitur huiusmodi camere indemnitati et animarum periculis cupientes debite providere, fraternitati uestre per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus uos uel duo aut unus uestrum per uos uel alium seu alios huiusmodi bona, debita, credita, fructus, census, redditus, et proventus si extant et alios ualores debitos eorundem super quibus summarie et de plano absque strepitu et figura iudicii uocatis quos noueritis eucandos cum fidei diligencia et sollerti plenius informantes si relatibus ueritas suffragetur ab eodem Michael et detentoribus aliis seu ad premissa obnoxiiis quibuscumque petere, exigere et habere cum integritate curetis, contraditores cuiuscumque status, gradus, or-

dinis, uel conditionis existant etiam si pontificali uel qualibet alia ecclesiastica uel mundana prefulgeant dignitate, auctoritate apostolica per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione postposita, compescendo, inuocato ad hoc si opus fuerit auxilio brachii secularis, etc.

Datum Auenione xiii kalendis februarii anno octauo.

### LETTER 2.

*Pope Innocent VI, 20 January 1360.*

*Reg. Vat. 241, fol. 7<sup>v</sup>-8<sup>v</sup>.*

Venerabilibus fratribus Thebano, Atheniensi, ac Pariensi archiepiscopis, salutem, etc.

f. 8

Mentes solent in superbiam erigi peruersorum quociens pro qualibet criminum penas demeritas non senserint et tanto effici ad facinora proutiores quanto ex flagitiis multas subeunt leniores. hoc inficit proceruitas quasi morbus ut facti ex negligencia salutem uim respuant, pigmentorum contempnunt, leges abiciunt, / canonicas et diuinas despiciunt sanxiones in malorum profunditatibus submersuri nisi rigore iusticie compescantur, ubi obrepit fore sollicitum presidentem ut sub uirga ferrea et lima iusticie compescat insolencias eorundem uersutias prompte frenet molimina quod collidat, ne pecandi licencia neglecta correctio ad alios deriuetur. nam quanto rigidius seuitur in malos tanto quieti bonorum tranquillitas consulitur innocentum.

Dudum siquidem fama publica et informatione sumaria deducentibus in publicam nocionem ad Apostolice Sedis noticiam est deductum quendam iniquitatis filium et perdicionis alumpnum Michaellem Olerii, nominatum pro decano Thebane ecclesie se gerentem, quoddam excogitatum homicidium in quodam foro publico perpetrasse, et quendam in patibulo suspendi fecisse, ac alium uinculatum post extortas ab ipso pecunias non modicas crucidasse, necnon lubricitate diutius effrenata eius diuertacula polluisse et aliis nefandissimis criminibus irretitum in cleri opprobrium et plebis partium illarum scandalum et iacturam.

Nos igitur cupientes huiusmodi scandalos, facinoribus obuiare, fraternitati uestre, de qua fidem in Domino gerimus plenior, per apostolica scripta comittimus et mandamus quatenus uos uel duo aut alter uestrum per uos uel alium seu alios ad prelibatam ecclesiam Thebanam seu alibi prout expedire noueritis conferentes super huiusmodi Michaelis criminibus, delictis, meritis, et demeritis, ac aliis status ipsius que incumbent summarie et de plano absque strepitu et figura iudicii uocatis euocandis cum fidei diligencia et sollerti plenius inquirere et eundem Michaellem cum eius complicibus in hac parte si huiusmodi criminibus seu delictis aut aliis reueritis damn / nabiliter irretitum

debite corrigere et punire ac de cetero sibi condigna iusticiam exhibere, semotis anfractibus quibuscumque ac aliis quibusuis diffugiis taliter studeatis quod idem Michael, qui de Christianis habere dicitur solum nomen et de clericis habitum tantum, lacrimis penitencie fontis gracie uenas roret, cuius irriguis animam suam purgat suo quem offenderat Creatori forsitan prestancius redditurus et ceteri huiusmodi exemplo preterriti a similibus inantea retrahantur; contraditores cuiuscumque status, gradus, ordinis, etc.

Datum Auenione xiii kalendis februarii anno octauo.

### LETTER 3.

*Pope Innocent VI, 20 January 1360.*

*Reg. Vat. 241, fol. 8<sup>v</sup>-9.*

Venerabilibus fratribus Thebano et Atheniensi ac Pariensi archiepiscopis, salutem, etc.

Per alias certas uobis damus literas in mandatis ut iniquitatis filio et dampnande perdicionis alumpno Michaeli Oleri, pro decano Thebane ecclesie se gerenti, super enormibus criminibus et delictis multipliciter diffamato fama publica precedente super hiis promptitudinem iusticie preberetis prout intransumpto huiusmodi informacionis summarie inde / facte presens intercluso et prelibatis nostris apertis literis uobis missis plenius continetur.

Quocirca fraternitatem uestram sollicitamus attente quatenus in prosecutionibus premissorum talem et tantam ac promptam diligenciam impendatis quod de negligencia minime reprehendi, sed de diligencia ut speramus merito ualeatis admodum comendari.

Datum Auenione xiii kalendis februarii anno octauo.

### LETTER 4.

*Pope Urban V, 3 November 1363.*

*Reg. Vat. 246, fol. 45<sup>v</sup>-46<sup>v</sup>.*

Venerabili fratri Thome, archiepiscopo Pariensi, salutem, etc.

Dudum cum ad felicis recordationis Innocencii pape vi predecessoris nostri perductam noticiam extitisset quod queuis bona mobilia ac credita et debita bone memorie Sirelli, archiepiscopi Thebani, quicumque, qualiacumque, et quantacumque forent et per quoscumque detinerentur seu occuparentur ubilibet constituta, necnon fructus, redditus, et prouentus qui sede Thebanense uacante post eiusdem archiepiscopi obitum obuenirent et obuenire possent erant dispositioni Sedis Apostolice reseruata, nichilominus tamen quondam Mi-

chael Oliverii, decano ecclesie Thebanensis, et nonnulli eius in hac parte complices huiusmodi bona, credita, fructus, redditus, et prouentus indebite occupauerunt et detinebant eciam occupata. idem predecessor fraternitate tue ac uenerabilibus fratribus, Atheniensi archiepiscopo ac episcopo Andromensi, per apostolica scripta mandauit quod uos uel duo aut unus uestrum per uos uel alium seu alios huiusmodi bona et credita ac fructus, redditus, et prouentus, se extarent, alioquin ualorem debitum eorundem, de quibus summarie et de plano ac sine strepitu et figura iudicii, uocatis quos nosceritis euocandos cum fidei diligencia uos plenius informaretis si ueritas relatis suffragaretur, ab eodem Michaeli et detentoribus aliis, seu ad premissa obnoxiiis quibuscumque petere et exigere curaretis, prout in litteris predecessoris prefati inde confectis plenius continetur.

Nuper autem tua fraternitas nobis exposuit quod cum tu huiusmodi apostolicis mandatis obediens ad recipiendum bona dicti decani, qui dictorum bonorum reseruatorum detentor et occupator extiterat, fideliter et solicite procederes in premissis, dilectus filius Griffon de Arecio, canonicus Coronensis, dicens se uicarium generalem uenerabilis fratris nostri Petri, archiepiscopi Cretensis, tunc episcopus Coronensis, in partibus ultramarinis dicte / Sedis legati, et bona mobilia dicti quondam decani fore per sedem eandem dicto tunc legato specialiter reseruata, et super hiis speciales commissionem et litteras dicti legati habere, tam te quam uenerabiles fratres nostros, Nicolaum Atheniensem ac Paulum Thebanensem archiepiscopos, per suas litteras monuit, ac uobis et uestrum cuilibet mandauit sub excommunicationis pena quam si secus feceritis uos et uestrum quemlibet incurrere uoluit ipso facto, et quam in uos in scriptis protulit de dictis bonis que fuerant decani prefati, uos per uos uel alium seu alios quoquomodo uel ingenio intromittere uel impedire minime deberetis, propter quod tu a prosecutione huiusmodi mandati apostolici tibi facti destitisti donec a nobis haberes aliud in mandatis, nosque consulisti quid deberes agere in premissis.

Nos autem per assercionem dicti archiepiscopi apud sedem consistentis eandem intellecto quod nulla concessio seu reseruacio dictorum bonorum prefati decani per dictam sedem fuerat sibi facta et quod nullam commissionem super hiis fecerat Griffoni prefato, propter quod monitionem mandatum eius minus uera et temeraria reputabatur, et nos etiam reputamus, eidem tue fraternitati committimus et mandamus quatenus tam eadem bona dicti decani usque ad integram restitutionem bonorum huiusmodi dicti Sirelli archiepiscopi que reperies per eum occupata seu detenta fuisse quam alia bona ac fructus, redditus, et prouentus predicta dispositioni dicte sedis ut premittitur reseruata, non obstantibus mandatis prenominati Griffonis uel alterius cuiuscumque, secundam formam litterarum predecessoris

eiusdem petere et exigere nomine nostro et apostolice camere, non postponas prefatum Grifonem aliosque contraditores cuiuscumque staus, gradus, ordinis, uel condicionis existant, etc.  
Datum Auenione iii nonis nouembris anno primo.

LETTER 5.

Pope Urban V, 21 December 1363.

Reg. Vat. 246, fol. 53<sup>v</sup>-54.

Venerabili fratri archiepiscopo Thebano, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Non sine admiratione et turbatione percepimus quod cum dudum uenerabilis frater noster Thomas, archiepiscopus Pariensis, commissarius super quibusdam negotiis in certis ultramarinis partibus a Sede Apostolica deputatus, dum in eisdem partibus commissi sibi a prefata sede negocia exercebat, iniquitatis filii Manfredus Pagamini de . . . et Lemnus de Luca, presbyteri familiares uenerabilis fratris nostri Nicolai, archiepiscopi Athenarum, etiam de mandato ipsius Nicolai archiepiscopi, non absque temeraria manuum iniectio in eum, Dei timore postposito, temere violenta eundem Thomam, archiepiscopum Pariensem, in ecclesia Nigropontensi existentem irreuerenter ceperunt et ad terram cum ignominia proiecerunt ac de eadem ecclesia Nigropontense expulerunt in grauem Dei et dictorum sedis et archiepiscopi Pariensis uilipendium ac iniuriam et offensam.

Cum itaque prosequentes negotia dicte sedis plena debeant securitate gaudere, huiusmodi excessus cuius auctores non solum latas a canone sed etiam per felices recordationis Bonifacium papam viii predecessoris nostri super hiis promulgatas excommunicationis et anathematis penas incurrere noscantur si ueritas relatibus suffragetur.

Nos, uolentes in hac parte prout tenemur ex debito pastoralis officii prouidere ne impunitas terminum / aliis prebeat materiam delinquendi, fraternitati tue per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus per te uel alium seu alios super hiis simpliciter et de plano, absque strepitu et figura iudicii, uocatis dictis archiepiscopo Athenarum et aliis qui fuerint euocandi te informes, et si tibi constiterit de predictis, tam contra archiepiscopum quam contra presbiteros supradictos aliosque ipsorum in hac parte complices et fautores summarie facias iusticie complementum, quod eis cedat ad penam et ceteris aliis in exemplum, ut quos Dei timor et reuerencia dicte sedis a malo non reuocant, saltem coherceat correctio iudicantis, contraditores quoslibet et rebelles cuiuscumque status, gradus, ordinis, preeminencie, uel condicionis existant, etc.

Datum Auenione xii kalendis ianuarii anno secundo.

Three Venetian Letters from Modon  
1400 - 1401

In addition to the official records of the republic, the Archivio di Stato in Venice contains a large number of private documents and letters. Three such personal letters were found in a small folder in the section called *Miscellanea Gregolin*, B. 6.<sup>1</sup> Since they contain some reports and rumors of activities in the Levant and the Balkans in the troubled years 1400-1401, they may be of interest to historians. The Venetian dialect in which the letters are written should also merit the attention of philologists.

The three letters presented in this article were written by Aloisio da Canal from Modon in Southern Greece, dated 28 July and 12 October 1400 and 2 January 1401, and sent to his father-in-law Castellano Minotto, podestà and captain of Capodistria on the Istrian peninsula to the south of Trieste. Both families were prominent in the civic and commercial life of Venice. Members of the da Canal family were admirals, ambassadors, *provedditori* (inspectors). Early in the fourteenth century Zibaldone compiled an interesting booklet dealing with mathematics, navigation, and ship construction.<sup>2</sup> In the deliberations of the

<sup>1</sup>There is a brief description of this section in A. da Mosto, *L'Archivio di Stato di Venezia*, 2 (Venice 1940), 262. A handwritten inventory lists "lettere commerciali, sec. xiv-xv" among the *fonds*, but almost all the documents date from the sixteenth and seventeenth cent.

<sup>2</sup>Zibaldone da Canal. *Manoscritto mercantile del sec. xiv*, ed. A. Stusi (Venice 1967).



senate we find mention of Bartolomeo, Filippo, Gerolamo, Vitto, Giorgio, Giovanni, Leonardo, Pietro, and others.<sup>3</sup> On 26 November of the year in which these letters were written Giovanni da Canal da Sant' Ermagora took part in the election of Doge Michele Steno.<sup>4</sup> None of these, however, can be proven to be closely connected with the Aloisio, son of Bartolomeo, author of these letters. The Minotto family included Marco and Gerolamo, bailies in Constantinople, and Tommaso, podestà of Nafplion.<sup>5</sup> But nothing else seems to be known about the Castellano to whom these letters are addressed. The post of podestà and captain of Capodistria (Justinopolis) was held by Bernardo Foscareno as late as 29 January 1400.<sup>6</sup> Castellano, then, must have assumed command sometime between the end of January and 12 October, the date of Letter 2 below.

In general, the letters have been well preserved. They were folded, with the addressee's name on the outside, *retro*, but there seems to be no trace of a seal. The ink is not faded and, with a few exceptions, the writing is clear. The script is regular and, although it is difficult to decipher some words, it is generally quite legible.

In the beginning of the fifteenth century the residents of Modon did not regard orthography as a major concern, and there is a good deal of inconsistency in these letters. The vocabulary also presents a number of problems, and the reader can only guess at the meaning of several words. Still, one can grasp the gist of what the writer is trying to say, but there are too many uncertainties to enable one to hazard a full and exact translation. There are also a number of historical and prosopographical questions which cannot be answered with any degree of confidence. An attempt to do so lies beyond the scope of this article, the basic purpose of which is simply to present these texts to scholars.

The division of words in the text is not always clear or consistent, and this is reflected in the edition. As mentioned, the reading of some words and numbers is not certain. The meaning of others is even less certain. Several references or allusions are lost on the modern reader. Everything considered, however, these short letters are not without information and interest.

<sup>3</sup>See the index to F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, 2 vv. (Paris - La Haye, 1958-59).

<sup>4</sup>Marino Sanudo, *Vite de' Duchi di Venezia*, ed. L. A. Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, 22 (Milan, 1733), 765.

<sup>5</sup>Thiriet, *Régestes*, 2, p. 125, no. 1537.

<sup>6</sup>Venice, *Archivio di Stato, Senato, Misti*, 44, fol. 139.

# Letters of Aloisio da Canal to Castellano Minotto

Venice, *Archivio di Stato*,  
*Miscellanea Gregolin*, B. 6.

1.

Modon, 28 July 1400.

+ Laus Deo. A Mothoni a di 28 liuo 1400.

(1) Magnificho ett generoxo miser, per Chancherle ho rezvuto da la ma(gnificenza) <vostra> una vostra per la qual vedo de la ma(gnificenza) vostra eser benisimo Ydio l'a vu datto. El simel eser di nui.

(2) La veste ae manda la ma(gnificenza) vostra per Chancherle quella oe datto di chi la ierano benche el chiedeva che la ma(gnificenza) vostra l'a tolese.

(3) Da novo non sentte plui alttra di quel hoe scritto a la ma(gnificenza) vostra. L'e sta condanatto per el conseio di pregadi per i avogadori ser Andrea Morexini fio de ser Charlo, el qual non a voluto hobedir el rezimento da Chorfu ne el chapetanio del Cholfo per chomandamento fato i eser partte del ma(gnifico) ca(petanio) zeneral. L'e sta condanato privado per ani 5 di sta tera he un ano in la prexion, he se el non avera armado he andato a trovar el ma(gnifico) ca(petanio) zeneral, el sia bandizado perpetualmente di sta tera e da tera e da mar, e la galia vegnia in la signoria con i noli del andar e di ritorno, he che el dara vivo in le forxe de la s(ignoria) abia ducati 500, se tien el sia anda de longo al so viaxo che non voria xia in so servixo.

(4) Priego la ma(gnificenza) vostra diga Aluixe avanti el vegny che el schuoda i ducati 20, soldi 14 datte Aluixe da Portto. Del so dibitor me promete tute el zorno non de fa nulla si sapesse. Chi fose el sanser levaria el manchado e far a vidar fuor. Ne altro se rechomandono a la ma(gnificenza) vostra. Christo vi conservi.

(5) Legnio andagando ben le chose chome spiro, l'e andera che el se mitera la nave contarina per socia per portar le merze el alttro.

Aluixe da Chanal, vostro i se richomando.

The paragraph divisions and numbers have been added by the editor.

[retro] + Magnifico et generoso domino Chastelano Minotto, dignissimo podestatte. Vizenzie et aquari. patri honorando. dette.

[alia m.] Ser Aluixie da Chanal. Vizenzie.

2.

*Modon, 12 October 1400.*

+ Laus Deo. A Mothoni a di 12 d' ut (tubre) 1400.

(1) Spetabele et generoso miser. Per Polo Agosta hoe rezevuto una vostra per la qual vedo del vostro bon che Idio l'a vu dato, ma vedo madona non se sentiva tropo bene, che zertto me despiaxe, ma me dite chredete sia per el mudar del aire. Idio fazi la stia bene. E se de qui vedete cosa per la qual i sia de bexognia avixatemelo che de subito ve la manderò.

(2) Ho rezevuto le valixe et el zesto ch' ve lo me dite mandar, le galderemo a so logo per vostro amor.

(3) Le vostre chose sono fato da la vesta in fuora, farò la far presto. O la data a fodrar e de subito ve manderò tuto. Se altro volete, avete a commandar.

(4) De la barcha ve avixo ho la data al voroter, la qual fixi veder. Non la stima pluy de ducati 6, he chusy i la lasy per quel priexio come me dixesty e metero la a so chontto.

(5) Da novo de guy se dize el Turcho vien in Nalbania con gran exerzito e questo se sa de fermo. Non so che dirme. Dio ne ayuta. L'e stato da sabado fina ozi pregadi, non so nula, eben si sapesse non ve'l poria scriver perche in cose scrite non me ostendero a scriver, abiateme per schuxo. Quel sentero el se posa dir ve lo avixero. Me ae dito miser Lorenzo ve ae scritto a pieno de quel achade a scriverve.

(6) Ne altro per hora me achade. Oferome ai chomandi vostri. Christo vi conserva. Amen. Oe scritto del fato de la chaxa. Atendo vostra per saper quello hoe a far.

Aluixie da Chanal, fio de miser Barttolomyo. Sa(lute).

[retro] Magnifico et generoso domino, Chastelano Minotto, podestate he chapetaneo Justinopolis dignissimo socero suo honorando.

[alia m.] Recepte a di 12 ianuarii e data di dito per Aluixie.

3.

*Modon, 2 January 1401*

+ Laus Deo. A Mothoni a di 2 de zenerio 1400.

(1) Magnifico et generoso miser. Ho rezevuto una vostra per la qual romagnio avixato de le vostro ben eser Ydio l'a vu dato. El simel ve avixo eser di nuy.

(2) Hoe rezevuto el vin mandasti per Zenaro he quello hoe meso a vostro chontto l'amontar di quello, et ezian la charne avete mandato data a ser Lorenzo Sagredo. Me mandatte tante cose che io non so quello posi satisfar, al inchonttro de tuto ve regraziamo.

(3) Del fato me ditte di mandar la chomision de la chaxa ve dicho, miser, chi non fa el modo ve oe scritto per ben di chi aspetta non se fara mai nulla a modi i tien per so utele, he non l'averia mai crelo he chon quantte bone parole et aspetto do danari, io e ditto per far ben he utele di chi le sono in modo che el ditto miser Iacomo i con chi el conseia se ae fato befe per le raxon scritte per mie senza replichave, he non trovo altro modo salvo quello ve oe scritto, sicche vede se'l ve par che sia cosa di ormai debia aver esechuxion, provede di far chome vi oe scritto che altro modo non puol eser perche come ve oe ditto per avanti o la mostrata a plui persone he chome i sano chi ae atende i xe andati per pregierie digandole eser raxon vui debie intender in modo che i non vuol deschonpiaxer e poi i vede che i xe anziani non fano a mo homeni da bene. Dio sa quello voria far per ben he utele desta cosa come si la fose mia propria.

(4) Ae ditte che domanda Marchio si'l azetera la chomision, me dixte de si siene avixa.

(5) Le galine et nololi avete dato a Iacomo da Riva, bal-estrier, le diaga permitade a San Zacharia he alo zeleseria. Non ve so dir altro salvo dize averlo fato.

(6) Da novo el se sentte per miser Anttonio di Prioli, vostre ambador dal ducha Stefano. Dixte chome l'averia fato la paxe tra el padre e'l fio, he che iera andati a la prexenzia del re se a trovavo in Bosnia, he quelli aveva ben visti. Dapoi i ano mandato el fio del dito ducha Stefano con uno suo chapetanio del re a trovar uno chapetanio di Turchi iera in Bosnia. In modo dize che le zente del re i ano rati i diti Turchi, e prexo alcuni sibasi he menadi al pavion del re i fexe taiar la testa. El re se atrova a Iaviza he conbate la forteza in nela qual ne son Turchi 400. Altro non se dize. Di quel luogo ase letera da Chostantinopoli di 4 de otubrio, dize chome el Turcho in persona iera chavalcado con persone 50<sup>m</sup> per vegnir in la Morea. Di armada non dize far nulla. Quel se sentera ve ne darò avixo.

(7) De li fati del re di Ragon ve avixo per la mortte del prinzipo di Taranton per atrovare suxo i fatti danne. Tuti li ano levati la so insegna quei luogi et tuto ano conquistado. El se ae fato uno gran signior in pochi zorni, et ano avuto asai si numiera di duchati chi dixे ducati 90<sup>m</sup> e plui.

(8) L'e zontto le galie da Baruto e quella da rata in Nistria tute charge di spezie, azeto. Quella da rata ch'e in man che pochi e o li le spezie tute per raxon e sta pagate chare.

(9) Da novo dize chome Turchi i erano intradi in la Morea da 10<sup>m</sup> he che i erano venuti bona parte de lor a Napoli per do volte, he che quei da Napoli con i fanti i erano dentro de li, li ero insir fuora he insi e fo a le man con i ditti Turchi e duro longamente in modo per quel i pote comprender. Ne fo morti da 1500 di soi e di nostri da 100 e prexi prexoni asai. Idio avese voluto al resto i fose fato la fin de lor. Se dize per alcuni segnali el Turcho eser morto. Non el chredo.

(10) Apreso se ae chome Sordonave se atrova sora Rodi ano prexo una nave de Anconitani con pani et altre robe che andava a Chostantinopoli. Questi tal sono i aiuti i dano a Christiani. Voria i fose chusi prexo le suo galie, e non dubite i sono mala generazion anchora. El dito Sordonave ae prexo una nave di Zenovexi andava a Chostantinopoli. Altro non se sentte.

(11) Ixabeta me ae dito che vui idage oltra i ducati 6 i di idagate a sta bona. Riman altri ducati 6, sicche ordone quel ve piaxe.

(12) Piazeme far far fina charicge 6 de quele se fa de li, e fate le sia bele e mandimele di qui.

(13) L'e sta fatto provedador in la Morea ser Andrea Dandolo, savi da tera firma, ser Andrea Dandolo dito e ser Iachomo Morexini fio de ser Vitor, ser Lion Viaro, e ser Domenego Zorzi.

(14) Dapoi scritto fin qui ho rezevuto una vostra per la qual resto avixatto del vostro ben eser Idio l'a vu dato. El simel ve avixo eser di nuj.

(15) Vedo quantto me ditte che madona manda chomision a Marchio e per quel intendo la chrede trovar plui di ducati 1300, perche la chomision dixе se debia dar per ducati 1300 in suxo panne, da novo la vota far priexio a so modo senza trovar un comprador per le tempi che vano che vui intendette e basti. Ma miser intro in cosa che se avese di danari non so quello faria madona a vender la so chaxa ma quel fazo solamente per far ben a lie, et azio el se mete fine a sta chosa, sicche voia lo ditta scriver a Marchio da novo che lo la dia per ducati 1300 he io batoro par me priexio raxonevele e plui cha raxone per i tempi strani che vano che chi volesse vender ad altri e pagando quello fano el

dito miser Iacomo. Non so trover a me chige atende se, e perho se che madona scriva chome ve oe ditto azio se ne paggi. Perche ne ela ne ae utilitadi ne io e perho fa per un e per l'altro sicche vede de far quanto vedero.

(16) Miser, ve scrivo a bon fin. Niente de meno fate quel ve piaze. L'e fato Zuan d'Ingeldei di qui ae comparso ai savi del conseio, li e da tera ferma. E par me per quel hoe posudo comprender el vuol che loi i sia zonto de altri chavali. Non ae voluto far niente se prima non ae le tera da vui che i bexognia per quel luogo per vostro honor, vede si'l non bexognia non scrivete nulla perche secondo intendo non bexognia i diti cavali, ma el fa per aver plui salario he non i tegneva. Me intendete senza ve dicho altro.

(17) El chapetanio zeneral da mar sono in galia aspeta tempo che sta consignato el stendardo. Idio i dia vitoria. A vostra chonsolazion son romaxo quaranta ziul di nuovi he con mio honor Idio l'a vu dato.

(18) L'are fridato miser Ierolimo Barbarigo a Udine. Non so la chaxone.

(19) State de bona voia, che spiero in Dio che a tempo novo la chrestianitade con le potenzie che sapete fara che el se avera vitoria contra el perfido nemigo de la chroxе. Quel sequiro el saperette.

(20) Ve mando per scharamuza stera do di semola di quello di chaxa. Se plui ne pose ve se manderia.

(21) Ne o altro. Oferome ai chomandi vostri. Christo vi conserva. Madama a vui se recomanda.

A. da Chanal, vostro. A di 2 zener. Sa(lute).

[retro] A magnifico ett generoso domino Chastelano Minotto, dignisimo potestate et chapitaneo Iustinopoli. dette.

[alia m.] Recepte di 12 zener data di 2 di.

## Summary and Notes

### Letter 1.

Modon, 28 July 1400. (1) Da Canal has received a letter from Minotto conveyed by Chanherle. He is glad to learn that all is well with him, as it is also with himself. (2) He has taken care of the clothing Minotto ordered through Chanherle. (3) There is no news to add to what

da Canal had already written except that Andrea Morosini, son of ser Carlo, has been condemned by the council for refusing to obey the regime of Corfù or the captain of the Gulf regarding the orders of the captain general. He has been sentenced to five years of banishment and one year in prison. If he had not armed himself and gone to the captain general he would have been banished perpetually. His galley and its revenues would have been confiscated, and he would have had to pay a fine of 500 ducats. (4) Would Minotto please tell Aloisio da Porto to pay the twenty ducats and fourteen solidi he owes. (5) Things will proceed as he hopes if the Contarini ship sails along with the one carrying the merchandise.

*Comment:* Chancerle (the word is difficult to read) is not a common name, and the person is not known. Morosini (*Morexini*) was the name of a prominent Venetian family, members of which frequently held important offices. Two were elected to the supreme position of doge, Domenico (1148-1156) and Michele (10 June - 15 October 1382). Andrea Morosini (possibly the same) was counsellor of Crete in 1405.<sup>7</sup>

The captain of the Gulf was the ordinary supreme commander of the Venetian navy, whose responsibilities included the safety of the sea lanes in the Adriatic (the Gulf of Venice) to Coron - Modon, Crete, and into the Aegean. He was chosen by the senate each January. In 1401 the post was held by Andrea Bembo.<sup>8</sup> While the sources speak of a captain of the Gulf in 1400, they do not divulge his name. On 15 January 1400 Andrea de Molino appears as vice-captain of the Gulf, and on 27 February the senate elected Jacopo Trevisano as vice-captain with the duty of assisting the captain, who is not named.<sup>9</sup> On 17 February the senate had decided to elect a captain to guard the Gulf and all Venetian ships, but it is not clear whether he was to be the regular captain of the Gulf or a temporary adjunct, and it is also not clear whether he was actually elected and, if so, what his name was.<sup>10</sup>

The *regimen* or government of Corfù was headed by a bailie, and included the islands of Corfù and Paxos and the city of Butrinto on the mainland. The captain general (of

<sup>7</sup>Thiriet, *Régestes*, 2, p. 54, no. 1196.

<sup>8</sup>C. Sathas, *Μνημεῖα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας*, 2 (Paris - Venice, 1881), p. 21-29, doc. 239.

<sup>9</sup>Venice, *Archivio di Stato, Senato, Misti*, 44, fol. 138<sup>v</sup>, 145.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 144.

the Sea) was appointed in times of emergency as supreme naval commander with powers which recall those of the ancient Roman *dictator*. But we do not know who held the position in 1400. The exact offense of Morosini and the details of the affair are not otherwise known.

On the outside of the folded letter (*retro*), Minotto is addressed as *podestà Vizenzie*, followed by a word which seems to read *in* or *et aquari*. Vizenzie is also written below by another hand. One can only think of Vicenza, but that city did not come under Venetian rule until four years later.

#### Letter 2.

Modon, 12 October 1400. (1) Da Canal acknowledges receipt of a letter from Minotto conveyed by Paolo Agosta. He is glad to learn that God has been good to him, but displeased at the news that his wife has not been feeling well, but this must be because of the change of air. He hopes that God will make her better and offers his help if Minotto needs anything. (2) He has received the baggage and the chest which Minotto sent and will take good care of them. (3) He will hurry with his clothing [robe ?] and, as soon as it is lined, he will send it to him. (4) He has taken care of the boat, which he did not estimate at more than six ducats, and has put it to Minotto's account. (5) The news in Modon is that the Turk has invaded Albania with a large army. Da Canal is at a loss for words. The councillors or senators are in their fourth day of meeting about it. He will try to keep Minotto informed, and he has been told that ser Lorenzo has also written to him. (6) Da Canal offers best wishes. He adds that he has written about the house and awaits further instructions.

*Comment:* Paolo Agosta is not otherwise known. Madonna (*madona*) would seem to be the wife of Minotto.

Since early in 1398 Turkish bands had been raiding constantly and causing a great deal of damage in Bosnia and Albania. Venetian documents in 1400 give evidence of the serious concern felt by the republic. In June there were several reports of destruction caused by the Turks.<sup>11</sup> The

<sup>11</sup>*Acta Albaniae Veneta saec. XIV et XV*, ed. J. Valentini (Munich, s.d.), I, 3; docs. 813, 817, 819. There is very little about the early years of this century in A. Gegaj, *L'Albanie et l'invasion turque au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Louvain, 1937).

lord of Valona feared that his lands would be taken by the Turks.<sup>12</sup> Several documents mention the Turkish captain Shahn (Saynus), who had apparently been placed in charge of operations in the area by the sultan Bajezid himself.<sup>13</sup> While disturbed by Turkish raids throughout the countryside, the Venetians were much more concerned about their ever increasing naval attacks all along the coast.<sup>14</sup> The Turk (*El Turcho*) would ordinarily designate the sultan Bajezid, but it is doubtful if he led the invasion in person. At this time he appears to have been more involved with invading the Morea (see Letter 3) and with making plans to confront Tamerlane in Anatolia. On this same date, 12 October, the senators in Venice were discussing the reports from the Levant that Bajezid was fully occupied, apparently further off to the East, in mustering a huge army and preparing for war against the Mongols.<sup>15</sup>

Ser Lorenzo may well be the Lorenzo Sagredo of Letter 3 (2).

#### Letter 3.

Modon, 2 January 1401 (1400, *more veneto*). (1) Da Canal received a letter from Minotto informing him that God has been good to him, and he replies that the same is also true in his case. (2) He received the wine that Minotto sent by means of Gennaro and has put the money for it on his account. He gave the meat he sent to ser Lorenzo Sagredo. He is very grateful for everything he has sent. (3) He is doing his best regarding the commission for the house. Ser Jacomo and others have also become involved. He will take care of the affair as though it were his own property. (4) At Minotto's request, Marchio will accept the commission. (5) Minotto has given the chickens and the rents [?] to Jacomo da Riva, the crossbowman. He says it is permitted at San Zacharia and elsewhere and claims to have done it. (6) Antonio de Prioli, the ambassador to Duke Stephen, has brought us the following news. Peace has been made between father and son, and they were well received by the king in Bosnia. The son of Duke Stephen was

sent with one of the king's captains to find a Turkish captain who was in Bosnia. Now they say that the king's men beat the Turks and captured a number of "sipahi". They were brought before the king, who had them beheaded. The king is at Iaviza attacking a fortress in which there are 400 Turks. A letter arrived there from Constantinople dated 4 October, which reported that the Turk in person was riding with 50,000 men down to the Morea. They say he is doing nothing about a fleet. (7) Since the death of the prince of Taranto, the King of Ragon has done very well. Everyone has raised his standard. He has become a great lord in a few days and has amassed a large amount of money, more than 90,000 ducats, so rumor has it. (8) The galleys from Beirut and from Istria arrived with cargoes of spices and vinegar, all expensive. (9) There is another report that the Turks have invaded the Morea, and a large number of them attacked Nafplion twice. The troops at Nafplion, including the infantry there, charged out to fight the Turks. The battle is said to have lasted for a long time. Some 1500 Turks were killed and about 100 of our men, and many prisoners were taken. God apparently wanted to put an end to them. Rumor has it that there are some indications that the Turk is dead, but da Canal does not believe it. (10) Sordonave was above Rhodes and captured a ship from Ancona which was sailing to Constantinople with a cargo of cloth. This is the kind of help they give to Christians. Da Canal wishes that the galley of the wicked Sordonave might itself be captured. He also took a Genoese ship going to Constantinople. (11) Elisabetta has a message about the six ducats; another six remain, so Minotto can order what he pleases. (12) Da Canal asks Minotto to send him some things from Capodistria. (13) Ser Andrea Dandolo has been named inspector in the Morea, and the following have been named as "sapientes de terra": the same Andrea Dandolo, Jacomo Morosini, Lion Viaro, Domenico Giorgi. (14) Da Canal has gotten this far in writing his letter when he received another one from Minotto. God has been good to both of them. (15) Minotto says that his wife [?] has given a commission to Marchio regarding 1300 ducats for her house, and he is concerned about it. (16) Giovanni d'Ingeldei of here has appeared before the Council. Apparently he wants more horses and better pay. (17) The captain general of the Sea is aboard his galley waiting for the standard to be consigned to him. May God grant him victory. (18) They have killed [?] Gerolamo Barbarigo in Udine; da Canal does not know the reason. (19) Da Canal hopes in God that the time will soon come when Christianity, with the powers Minotto knows, will be victorious over the perfidious enemy of the cross. (20) Da Canal is sending Minotto some flour ground in his

<sup>12</sup> *Acta Albaniae Veneta*, I, 3, docs. 813, 836.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, docs. 821, 863.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, docs. 838, 839, 840.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, doc. 847; see also G. Dennis, "Three Reports from Crete on the Situation in Romania, 1401-1402", *Studi Veneziani* 12 (1970) 243-65.

house. (21) Da Canal offers his services, prays that Christ guard Minotto, and sends him greetings from his wife.

*Comment:* Gennaro (Zenaro) may be a servant. Sagredo was not an uncommon Venetian name, although this Lorenzo is not otherwise known. Several other persons mentioned in this letter are difficult to identify, such as Marchio and Giacomo da Riva.

De Prioli (also Priolis, da Priuli) was a fairly common Venetian name. This Antonio, though, is difficult to trace. The identity of Duke Stephen, as well as of the father and son who had agreed on some sort of peace treaty, is not at all clear. The Serbian ruler, Stephen, had the title of count at this period. At the time of the Turkish invasions there was a large number of small principalities in the Balkans; in 1390, for example, there were twenty four identifiable small states south of the Danube. The sources, even the generally accurate Venetian documents, are not always clear about the name or location of the many petty lords in the area. Stephen Ostoja had been king of Bosnia since February 1398; in June 1399 he was granted Venetian citizenship.<sup>16</sup> He was succeeded in 1404 for a four year period by Stephen Tvortko II, the legitimate son of Ostoja's predecessor.

The captain of the Turks mentioned may have been the Shahin of Letter 2. "Sipahi": the text has *sibasi*. This seems to be a corruption of *sipahi*, a Turkish word, deriving from Persian, and usually meaning a cavalryman. It could be related to Turkish *pasha* (Italian *bascia*), but this title was used very sparingly in this period. Iaviza is not readily identifiable.

In August 1400 the Ottoman sultan Bajezid was in central Greece preparing to invade the Morea, but, probably in late September, he turned back to Brusa to organize his campaign against the Mongols.<sup>17</sup> The report that Bajezid was doing nothing about a fleet differed greatly from the reports reaching Venice. On 10 September 1400 the government there was very disturbed about the Turkish ships in the gulf of Patras and especially about the sultan's fleet and his growing power at sea.<sup>18</sup>

Otto of Brunswick, Prince of Taranto, had died with-

heirs. In February 1400 Louis d'Anjou arrived to claim the principality, but found that Raimundello Orsini, count of Lecce, had already taken over and had obtained the support of Louis' rival, King Ladislaus of Sicily and Hungary. Louis was soon abandoned by all, and by July Ladislaus had received control of the entire kingdom of Naples.<sup>19</sup> This seems to be what da Canal is talking about in this place, but there are several obscurities. The title given to the king, *re di Ragon*, is not at all clear. One might think of the king of Aragon (Martin I), but it is difficult to fit him into this context. The king in question is most likely Ladislaus. *Ragon*, which is clearly what is written in the original letter, might be slang or be meant in a humorous or derogatory sense.

Whatever came of Bajezid's plans to invade the Morea, it seems that a large number of Turks, ten thousand according to da Canal's informant, did invade the area. The attack on Nafplion (*Napoli*) is not mentioned in other sources, but on 7 January 1401 the Venetian senate allocated funds to repair the city's fortress, which was said to be in poor condition.<sup>20</sup>

Sordonave, apparently a famous pirate, is not known from other sources, nor is his nationality clear.

The newly appointed officials mentioned in § 13 all bear common Venetian names, Dandolo, Morosini, Viaro, Giorgi. As mentioned in connection with Letter 1, we do not know the name of the captain general in 1400 or where his galley was stationed. The meaning of *fridato* (*refridato*?) in § 18 is not certain; it may be related to the modern *freddato*, chilled or killed. The surname Barbarigo was well known in Venice.

<sup>19</sup> *Giornali Napolitani*, ed. L. A. Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, 21 (Milan, 1732), 1065-67; L. A. Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, 8.2 (Rome, 1787), 345-46; cf. A. Cutolo, *Re Ladislao d'Angiò Durazzo* (Naples, 1969), 226-29.

<sup>20</sup> C. N. Sathas, *Μνημεῖα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας*, 2, p.13, no.231.

<sup>16</sup> *Acta Albaniae Veneta*, doc. 753.

<sup>17</sup> See Dennis, "Three Reports from Crete", 262.

<sup>18</sup> "...Cum armata sua et quantum est potens in mari". *Acta Albaniae Veneta*, doc. 840; cf. docs. 838, 839.

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